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ABSTRACT

These materials provide documents related to the efforts of African, Jewish, Hispanic, and Asian Americans to help themselves and improve their communities through mutual assistance and self-help groups. These materials are designed for teachers of high school history. The study of self-help groups for minorities is a useful part of U.S. history and can help student understanding of minorities. The materials are related to the discussion and essays in Part 1 of the project, which introduces the mutual aid organization and provides three detailed examples of this type of association. Three pedagogical methods are suggested that have proven useful in the study of historical material. The first is the biopoem, a device for letting students break materials down into a poem that is meaningful to them personally. The second approach is the poem with two voices, and the third is choral reading. Each of the 18 assignments starts with the source of the primary document, followed by suggested uses and suggested teaching approaches. The document itself is not included if it is readily available to teachers. Otherwise, it is presented in its entirety. Teachers are urged to choose from these documents and activities to supplement high school American history courses. Contains 54 references. (SLD)

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CLASSROOM ASSIGNMENTS AND MATERIALS ON SELF-HELP ACTIVITIES AND MUTUAL AID GROUPS AMONG MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Stein Kroner

PART II

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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The purpose of these materials is to allow teachers access to certain documents, articles, and excerpts from books that might be useful in teaching about the efforts of African, Jewish, Hispanic, and Asian Americans to help themselves and improve their communities. Some of the materials are primary documents; others are articles from scholarly magazines or excerpts from monographs. In no way are the materials a comprehensive compilation of information on mutual aid organizations and self-help activities. Yet it is hoped that this information will convey the extent of such actions and associations.

Following this brief introduction are three pedagogical methods that have proved useful in the past for use with documents and other historical material. The biopoem is an artful device for letting students break down materials on individuals into a brief poem that will have meaning for them and contribute to their understanding of the individual. I also believe that this method can be used as a way to analyze institutions as well. A biopoem about Victoria Earle Matthews would be a convenient technique to analyze and understand this remarkable woman. Yet a biopoem about the National Council of Jewish Women or the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, while perhaps a little more difficult, would have the same benefits of enhancing the understanding of the organization.

The second approach is the poem for two voices. Like the biopoem, an example of its use is given. This is an efficient, succinct method of having students compare two individuals, events, or organizations. The manner in which it is organized permits students to note both differences and similarities while analyzing the articles or documents into their own words.

Choral reading is the third technique presented. The explanation of how it can be used is on the sheet. This approach has been used very successfully to introduce slower students to documents and encourage them to examine the meaning of the documents within a group format. For more advanced students, this method can be utilized to introduce a change of pace in their work.

These are not the only techniques that would work with these materials. On the assignment sheets for each piece of information, other approaches are noted. These three methods were presented because many teachers might not be familiar with them as they are with question and answer techniques and role play. Teachers should let students be as creative as they want with the biopoem, the poem for two voices, and the choral reading. Once students are comfortable with the approach, teachers can permit students some leeway in how they write the final products. This, of course, will depend on the individual teacher and his or her approach to the classroom.

Each assignment starts with the source of the document, article, or excerpt. In some cases the annotation of the source appears on the assignment sheet to give the teacher some background. The 'Suggested Uses' section is intended to give the teacher an idea of what aspect or chronological period of United States history the material would be appropriate for. Occasionally, questions or comments are placed in parentheses after this to justify the selection and give the teachers some ideas about the usage of the information. Recommendations of possible pedagogical methods follow. These are not meant to be exhaustive, but to stimulate thinking about how this material could be incorporated in classes. Finally, there are a series of questions about each document, article, or excerpt. The focus of the questions is the importance of the piece of information itself. Often there will be comments on comparing it to other pieces of information, some of which are in the Assignments and Classroom

Materials section of the project. A cross-reference is noted when similar materials are in the Assignments section.

A table of contents of assignments follows. These are not the only assignments that I have made, but the ones I have chosen to present first. The arrangement is basically chronological. If there are assignments from the same source, then they are grouped together. All assignments will be briefly identified so teachers can go directly to the ones they find most appropriate. Where the sources are accessible to most teachers, I have not included the documents or articles since the cost of xeroxing all of these would be prohibitive. Those without documents are marked with an asterisk in the table of contents. Unless a teacher was conducting a course of mutual aid and self-help activities, there is no way that all of these plans could be used in a United States history survey course. Teachers should use whatever works best for their classes.

Table of Contents for Lesson Plans

1. John O'Brien, "Factory, Church, and Community: Blacks in Antebellum Richmond." •

2. Foner and Walker, Proceedings of Black State Conventions, 1840-1865
   a) New Jersey, 1849 and 1865: Petition and Address Asking for Rights
   b) New York, 1851: Fugitive Slave Law and Education
   c) Ohio, 1865: Resolutions on Rights and Self-Help
   d) California, 1855 and 1865: Resolutions and Statistics on Black Population

3. "The Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston [1832]."

4. Stories from McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader, 1907

5. Desire of African-Americans for Education: Various Documents from a Black State Convention in New York in 1851 and Reconstruction Documents from Berlin, Free At Last, *Harpers Weekly*, and Lerner, Black Women in White America.

6. Ida B. Wells-Barnett and the Campaign Against Lynching, 1895.

7. A Mexican American Mutual Aid Organization, 1911

8. A Brief History of Mutual Aid Organizations Among African-American Women •

9. Activities of the National Association of Colored Women, 1906.

10. Activities of the National Council of Jewish Women, early 20th century.

11. Jewish Mutual Aid Societies: *landsmanshaftn*, early twentieth century

12. Rotating Credit Associations Among Chinese, Japanese, and African-Americans, 1880's-1930's

13. Free Loan Associations and Credit Unions in Jewish Communities, early 20th century

14. A Brief History of Asian American Communal Organizations •

15. Constitution and General By Laws of An African American Mutual Aid Society, 1920's

16. Marcus Garvey on the Fundamental Goals of African-Americans, 1924

17. A Brief Discussion of Chinese Organizations in Hawaii.

18. Self-Help Among Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans in the 1980's *

BIO-POEM

The following form has many uses. In September, it's a useful way of introducing yourself to students, and to have them introduce themselves to you. English classes may use it to describe characters in novels. It is a wonderful alternative for writing reports on autobiographies or biographies. Finally, it provides a vehicle for understanding the people who populate the pages of history.

Line 1	First name
Line 2	Title (usually a noun)
Line 3	Four words that describe the person
Line 4	Lover of 3 (things or ideas)
Line 5	Who believed in (1 or more ideas)
Line 6	Who wanted (3 things)
Line 7	Who used (3 methods or things)
Line 8	Who gave (3 things)
Line 9	Who said (a direct quotation)
Line 10	Last name

BIO-POEM

Line 1 _____

Line 2 _____

Line 3 _____, _____
_____, and_____.

Line 4 Lover of _____, _____,
and _____.

Line 5 Who believed_____.

Line 6 Who wanted _____, _____, _____,
and _____.

Line 7 Who used_____, _____
and _____

Line 8 Who gave _____, _____,
and _____.

Line 9 Who said, "_____."

Line 10 _____

BIO-POEM

ELLA
Fundi
Civil Rights Activist, Organizer, Tireless worker.
Modest, "Protective angel,"
Lover of justice, human rights, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
Who believed that "everybody's somebody."
Who worked behind the scenes with Martin Luther King.
Who used courage, college students, vision,
Who gave guidance to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee
Who said, "Sit-ins and other demonstrations are concerned with something bigger than a hamburger or a giant-sized coke...the Negro and white students, North and South, are seeking to rid America of the scourge of racial segregation and discrimination--not only at lunch counters, but in every aspect of life."
BAKER.

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POEMS FOR TWO VOICES

A couple of years ago, a colleague from Massachusetts introduced the editor of The Seminar Gazette to a form of writing called poems for two voices. Marj Montgomery, who teaches at Day Junior High School, had used the poems to help her students learn about American history. What follows is an example of the work done by three of her students. The editor has successfully used the technique with high school students at Thomas Jefferson High School in Federal Way, Washington. Poems for two voices have enjoyed bi-coastal success!

A POEM FOR TWO VOICES

Thomas Jefferson and Richard Henry Lee

VOICE #1	COMBINED VOICES	VOICE #2
I am Thomas Jefferson.		
		I am Richard Henry Lee.
		I want to talk with you about this proposed Constitution.
We must ratify this Constitution quickly.		
		Friend, why are we in such a hurry? Where is the emergency?
		But, we must agree on some form of government for our new nation.
		A Constitution without a Bill of Rights is no good.
I agree with you, Richard, but a country without a government is in chaos.		
		Government seeks power. If we adopt this Constitution the federal government will take more and more power. The people will lose their liberty. The power of government needs to be limited before ratification!
Calm down, Richard. The right of free men must be protected from a tyrannical government. But I agree that it is next to useless without a Bill of Rights.		
		This Constitution needs a Bill of Rights.
This country needs a government. We need a document which will govern the nation. We must ratify the Constitution. After that, we can add a Bill of Rights.		
		Tom, why should the government give up any of its power, after we give it complete control? Limit the power first!
We need a Constitution first! This Constitution must be ratified.		
		This Constitution cannot be ratified. This Constitution has endless problems. Why not end slavery? What about the term of office of the representatives? It will create tyranny.
This Constitution is the product of hard work and determination. It is the best possible document.		
		I don't think we will ever agree.
		You do not listen to me, Thomas.
You do not hear me, Richard.		
		This country is too important to me to let this matter drop so easily.
Accept it!		
		Never!
You are stubborn, Richard.		
		No, I am careful, Thomas!
Let's go to the pub and talk some more.		
		Are you buying, Thomas?

(Written by Maureen McKenna and Aparna Lele.)

A POEM FOR TWO VOICES

James Madison and Fisher Ames

VOICE #1	COMBINED VOICES	VOICE #2
If all my dreams could come true.		
		This bountiful nation would be united.
Under the Constitution.		
		Thirteen colonies, bound together by a power stronger than words.
Without it we are weak.		
		A doll limp in a child's arms.
Horrors plaguing our newly founded country.		
		Anarchy.
Internal war.		
		Chaos.
Diversity is self-sufficient.		
		It remains strong where one state might fall.
It adds another vertebrae to the backbone of the country.		
		Difference in the states are essential.
Each state is unique; it has its own personality.		
		As my friend, Madison, was raised in high society.
While my companion, Amos, grew up in the working class.		
		Our backgrounds compliment each other, as do the states.
		The empty pockets lingering in this document
will soon be filled as our new country begins to work.		
		Many grandiose words may be spoken
guaranteeing the rights of citizens,		
		but their words are more hypocritical than primarily revealing.
Power cannot be had with states acting like insects, thrashing furiously on their backs.		
		The need is to upright these states and join them to form one.
		A central government.

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(Written by Becca Thomases.)

A Choral Reading

Time required: one class period. Materials: Document (often sidebars in history texts); newsprint, magic markers or crayons.

1) Select a document (a letter, a diary, an essay, the Declaration of Independence) which will profit from close scrutiny.

2) Give each class member a copy of the document, along with 3 blank strips of paper.

3) Instruct students that they will read the document as though they were members of a choir. While reading, they should note any words or phrases that "sing" to them. These may be words/phrases that they like, hate, have interesting alliteration, harbor the essence of the document, strike them as meaningful, banal, etc. Students write one word/phrase onto each of the three strips.

4) Informally, the teacher "directs" the class in the choral reading, dividing the group into suitable "choirs": all women, all men, all on the last row, all with birthdays between July and December, etc.

5) In groups of 3 or 4, students will write a poem using the 9 or 12 words/phrases they have selected from the document. There are no "rules." Students may choose to weave together words from all of their strips of paper, or they may omit words. If several students select the same phrase, it may become the poem's refrain. Some poems will have punctuation; others will not. All must have a title. The poems may be whimsical or serious, laudatory or cynical.

6) A student who has good penmanship will copy the poem onto a piece of newsprint, which will then be taped on the classroom wall. Of course, everyone in the group will sign the finished product. Occasionally, poems are illustrated.

7) A reader from each group reads its poem to the class.

8) Time required: one class period. Materials: newsprint, magic markers or crayons.

Conclusion: The document's words no longer lie flat on the page. While constructing their poem, groups discuss the meaning of the document, as well as its artistic and literary components. All students participate. Suitable for remedial, average, advanced students. Adults love it!

Source: Summer Workshop, Bard College

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: John O'Brien, "Factory, Church, and Community: Blacks in Antebellum Richmond," in *The Journal of Southern History* XLIV (November, 1978), 509-536.

Suggested Uses: Slavery (what organizations could slaves create under slavery?), Antebellum southern free black society

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Student reading of the article followed by a discussion
2) Compare the actions of free blacks in the South in regard to their condition with those actions of northern free blacks (see the several documents from Foner and Walker on the black state conventions in the Assignments section of this project).

Questions: 1) How did working in manufacturing affect the status of slaves?
2) What organizations were available to slaves so that they could express themselves freely?
3) Why were some slaves able to gain control of their labor?
4) What role did the black Baptist churches play in the lives of their free and slave members?
5) What are examples in this reading of slave resistance and self-help on the part of African-Americans?

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: ADDRESS ISSUED to the People of NEW JERSEY by "The Equal RIGHTS LEAGUE of the ~~"Form of Petition: To the Honourable, the Senate and House Assembly of the~~ State of New Jersey, at ~~Trenton assembled~~, 1865" and "An Address: From the Coloured Convention, assembled at Trenton, on the 21st and 22nd days of August, 1849," in Foner and Walker, Proceedings of Black State Conventions, 4-5, 14-15

This is a two volume work that contains the proceedings of conventions that African-Americans held in the years, 1840-1865, in various states. It is a wonderful source of information for examining African-American attitudes of the antebellum period and the efforts of African-Americans in challenging discrimination. There are many documents from these two volumes in the Assignments section of this project.

Suggested Uses: Antebellum reform (what reforms are important for African-Americans at this time?), Early civil rights movement (how would this compare to the founding of the NAACP and the efforts of Martin Luther King, Jr.?), African-American History, Reconstruction (how do these documents foreshadow the goals of blacks during Reconstruction?

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Question and answer based on the questions below
2) Poem for two voices- 1849 and 1865
3) Choral reading of selected portions

Questions:
1) What do the petitions demand? Are the demands different for 1849 and 1865?
2) On what grounds do they justify their demands?
3) Are the tones of the 1849 and 1865 petitions different or similar?
4) What do you think the significance of these petitions might be?
5) Were there other methods that African-Americans could have used to challenge discrimination? What were the advantages and disadvantages of the methods to challenge discrimination?
6) Using any of the other documents from Foner and Walker, compare the actions of blacks in New Jersey with the activities of blacks in other states? Are the goals similar or different?
7) Who would be the delegates to these conventions?

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longer than ten minutes at a time, except persons appointed to address the meeting.

10th. This convention shall assemble at 9 o'clock, A.M., and remain in session till 12, noon. Afternoon session from 2 to 5 o'clock.

On motion, J. B. Rock, G. Lewis, R. Thomas, I. Locke, and S. Harrison, were appointed a committee to prepare business for the Convention; when the house adjourned till 2 o'clock, P.M.

Afternoon Session.

The Convention met according to adjournment. In the absence of the business committee, Mr. Van Rensselaer offered a resolution, which after much discussion, was laid on the table.

On return of the business committee, they offered the following resolutions, which, after a few amendments, were discussed and adopted, viz.:

1st. Resolved, that the house, with the special assistance of the Chair, proceed immediately to the settlement of all necessary preliminaries, preparatory to the consideration of the grand object, to which the whole attention of the house will be called.

2d. Resolved, that the grand object to which the whole attention of the house is called, is that of the best mode of endeavoring to obtain the right of franchise for coloured persons in the State of New Jersey.

3d. Resolved, that the best mode of obtaining the right of franchise is by petitioning the State Legislature through the people.

4th. Resolved, that we be careful to obtain the signatures of white citizens separately and apart from those of the coloured citizens.

Here the Convention adjourned till 9 o'clock, A.M. August 22d, 1849.

Nine o'clock, A.M., August 22d, 1849, the house convened according to adjournment, and the business committee resumed.

5th. Resolved, that one hundred and fifty copies of a Petition be published, and distributed in numbers of not less than five nor more than ten copies to each County in this State.

6th. Resolved, that the delegates from Camden, Gloucester, and Salem Counties, shall receive the quota of copies for all the Counties of this State lying south of the Counties of Monmouth and Burlington; and the delegates shall be responsible for the proper distribution of the same therein.

7th. Resolved, that the delegates north of the Counties of Camden and Atlantic, in this State, shall receive the quota of copies belonging thereto; and they, the delegates, shall be responsible for the proper distribution of the same therein.

8th. Resolved, that the copies of Petition shall, with the signatures thereon, be returnable to Trenton during the first week of the session of the Legislature, so as to be passed up to that honourable body as soon as possible after the commencement of the next session thereof.

9th. Resolved, that we call upon every delegate here assembled, and also upon every well disposed citizen of this State and elsewhere, to aid the cause to the utmost of their abilities, by exerting themselves for the purpose of obtaining as many signers as may be possible to the following form of Petition, to send in to our State Legislature at its next session.

FORM OF PETITION

To the Honourable, the Senate and House Assembly of the State of New Jersey, at Trenton assembled

We, the undersigned, citizens of the State of New Jersey, hereby respectfully petition your Honourable body to take the lawful measures to so amend the Constitution as to leave out the word "*white*" in Article 2d, Right of Suffrage, Section 1st, of the Constitution of the State of New Jersey, so as to grant the Right of Franchise to all citizens thereof, irrespective of colour.

Here the business committee concluded; and Mr. Van Rensselaer's resolution was called up, and adopted, as follows:

Resolved, that it is the purpose of the members of this Convention never to cease petitioning the Legislature of this State until our prayer for equal rights is granted.

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After which, the following from the Rev. Mr. Catto was submitted and adopted, as follows:

Resolved, that the delegates, and all persons concerned in the advancement of our present business, that of obtaining the elective franchise, shall continue to do all in their power to keep before the people the duty of striving to their utmost to obtain this right.

On motion it was Resolved, that Rev. J. Woodlin, I. Locke, and Rev. William T. Catto, be authorized to publish an Address to the citizens of New Jersey.

After which a contribution from certain delegates and others, citizens of Trenton, was handed over to I. Locke, of Camden, with orders to prepare and publish the minutes, &c.; and after a few mutual instructions the Convention at 2 o'clock, P.M. adjourned *sine die*.

A solemn Benediction was offered up by Rev. Mr. Catto, and the assemblage retired in peace and harmony to their homes.

AN ADDRESS

From the Coloured Convention, assembled at Trenton, on the 21st and 22d days of August, 1849,

TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW JERSEY

We, the undersigned, on behalf of the aforesaid Convention, do make and promulgate this appeal to all the people in common throughout this our native State:--

Being endowed, under the blessings of a beneficent Providence and favourable circumstances, with the same rationality, knowledge and feelings, in common with the better and more favoured portions of civilized mankind, we would no longer deride you and ourselves by exhibiting the gross inconsistency, and by so far belying the universal law and the great promptings of our nature; cultivated as we claim to be, as to have you longer suppose that we are ignorant of the important and undeniable fact that we are indeed *men* like unto yourselves.

Knowing then, that these things are so, you will naturally be led to suppose that with the same kind of teaching, and under the same influences, we should necessarily have the same kind of feelings and the same general ideas in common with yourselves.

And inasmuch as you have declared, and we have learned the fact,--that all men are by nature free and independent, and have certain natural and inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

And that all political power is inherent in the people; and that they have the right at all times to alter or reform the same, whenever the public good may require it.

Therefore we now appeal to you in the face of your own assertions, and in respect of your justice, your patriotism, your intelligence, your honesty and love of liberty,--and in remembrance of your accountability to Him from whom cometh every good and perfect gift,--requesting that you will use your influence, each for himself, in assisting us in this our purpose of obtaining for ourselves and our posterity, the blessings and perquisites of liberty in the exercise of the elective franchise, or right of suffrage; which we respectfully ask as a right belonging to us in the character of *men*; but heretofore withheld as an attache of color, in the conservative spirit of some, and the ignorance, envy and prejudice of others.

In conclusion, we would only say that, with our knowledge of the eminent standing of the highest virtues of which humanity is capable,--the religion, morality, intelligence, jurisprudence and good citizenship, generally evinced in this our native State,--we confidently expect a majority of your signatures to our petitions wherever presented; and we verily believe that the day is not

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Sec. 3. They shall have power to fill all vacancies caused by death, resignation or otherwise during the year.

Article IV

Sec. 1. The officers shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected.

Sec. 2. The officers of the League shall receive such compensation as shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Sec. 3. The District Agents of the Association shall be appointed [by] the League annually, if it see proper, and receive such compensation as the League may determine; and also, *providing*, that at the regular session no agents are appointed, the Executive shall perform the duty of procuring them.

Article V

Sec. 1. The sessions of the Equal right's League shall be held annually on the second Tuesday in September, commencing in 1866, in the City of Trenton, at 10 o'clock A.M., for the election of officers and the transaction of such other business as may be brought before it.

Sec. 2. At any annual meeting of the League, this constitution may be altered or amended by a vote of a majority of the members enrolled.

CONVENTION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY

Extract from the Trenton State Gazette of July 13th, 1865

On Thursday the 13th of July, 1865, the people of color of the State met in convention, in the African Church on Perry street, Trenton.

The interior of the Church was still clad in its sable habiliments of memory and mourning for that true friend of all men, "The Martyred President" --Lincoln.[1]

The convention was composed of both sexes, and its proceedings and deliberations were conducted with strict decorum and much dignity. The male persons only taking part in the business of the convention.

The object of the convention as demonstrated by its proceedings was "to endeavor to secure equal political rights and immunities to all classes of men in the State."

The basis of an organization was effected, to be styled, "The Equal Right's League of the State of New Jersey," embracing in its members the loyal persons of the State, of all conditions and colors.

A constitution was adopted and the following officers elected:

President--Samuel C. Gould, of Trenton.

Vice Presidents--Rev. Theo. Gould, of Burlington; Rev. Robert Penn, of Burlington.

Recording Secretary--Wm. Steward, of Cumberland.

Corresponding Secretary--Rev. R. B. Johns, of Princeton.

Treasurer--Abijah Gould, of Cumberland county.

Executive Committee--The President, 1st Vice President, Recording Secretary, Rev. N. H. Turpin, Salem City; Rev. R. Johns, Princeton; Gideon Lewis, Bordentown, and Rev. Thomas H. Cooper, of Trenton.

The following address was adopted:

ADDRESS *Issued to the People of New Jersey, by "The Equal Right's League of the State of New Jersey"*

Whereas, We, the colored people of the State of New Jersey have been for long time deprived of our political rights, have thereby labored under many disadvantages, and suffered many wrongs, the influence of which has retarded our progress and elevation; therefore, we most respectfully appeal to the citizens of New Jersey, and the friends of humanity, to restore to us *all* the rights of *Loyal Citizens*. We ask it as our right

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First, Because we are law abiding, loyal people, and always have been.

Second, Because in the hour of the nation's peril, *when called*, we rallied to the rescue, and thereby gave our influence, our money and our lives, for the restoration of her government.

Third, We ask it in the name of the Declaration of Independence, which declares *all* men to be free and equal born, and "endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and without the acknowledgment of our *political* rights, these cannot be enjoyed.

Fourth, We ask it in the name of the God of our holy religion, who declares that he has no respect of persons, and also declares that He "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitations," (Acts xvii, 26.)

Samuel C. Gould, President.

In the evening the Convention re-assembled.

The following is the programme which was laid down for the future:

1. A census of the colored population of New Jersey.
2. Number of acres of land in the State owned and tilled by them, and for which they pay their taxes; also, the value of said land, and a statement of other taxes paid by them, as well as other property exempt from taxation, such as churches, etc.
3. A statement of the number of soldiers furnished by the colored people of New Jersey to the Government, by volunteering and otherwise.
4. The number of colored children in the free schools, paid for by the State.
5. The intellectual status of the colored people.

It is the intent, on to petition the Legislature in behalf of these objects.

The members of the League are required to pay $1.50 as an initiation fee on joining.

Copy in the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library and the Library Company of Philadelphia.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865.

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ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "Resolutions, "Report of the Committee on Fugitive Slave Bill," and "Report of the Committee on Education, " of the New York convention in Albany, 22-24 July 1851, in Foner and Walker, Proceedings of Black State Conventions, I, 57, 59, 72, 73.
See description of the Foner and Walker volumes under the New Jersey documents from this work.

Suggested Uses: Compromise of 1850 (Fugitive Slave Law), Antebellum reform (education), African-American History (antebellum free black society)

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Group work involving other document selections from the black state conventions (are the issues different or similar in the states where conventions were held?
2) Choral reading of certain portions selected by the teacher
3) Question and answer based on the questions below

Questions: 1) What values do the resolutions encourage?
2) Why were those values important to African-Americans?
3) Why were the issues of the franchise and education place together in one set of resolutions?
4) Why did the delegates think that education was necessary and what will education do for African-Americans? What is the African-American concept of education? What is the purpose of education from their perspective? Is this a universal belief?
5) What do the delegates think of the Fugitive Slave Law? What is the basis for their argument against the Fugitive Slave Law?

officers of the Convention.

The following gentlemen were appointed nominating committee: C. E. Seth, Francis Douge, and Stephen Myers; who, upon their return, reported the following lists:—

For President, William H. Topp, of Albany.

For Vice-Presidents, Amos G. Beman,[4] of New-Haven, William Rich, of Troy, and James Morris Williams, of Albany, recently from Canaaskie.

For Secretaries, Rev. Henry Hicks, of Catskill, Greene Co., and Charles E. Seth, Esq., of Albany.

Finance Committee--Wm. P. McIntyre, S. Myers, and F. Douge.

Business Committee--Hiram Johnson, Stephen Myers, Richard Wright, William P. McIntyre, C. E. Seth, Henry Hicks, and John H. Still, and Eli H. Hall.

The President was conducted to his seat by Mr. John H. Still, of Brooklyn, and W. P. McIntyre, of Albany.

President Topp, on being conducted to his chair, arose and addressed the Convention, in a brief and happy manner, referring to the main objects for which the Convention was called, and concluded by hoping that good order, harmony, and disinterested humanity might characterize all its deliberations. He resumed his seat amidst the spirited applause of the Convention.

After which, a motion prevailed, that a committee of three be appointed to draft rules for the government of the Convention. The following gentlemen were appointed: C. E. Seth, Francis Douge, and John H. Still, who retired, and on their return, reported the following rules:

Rules

1. *Resolved*, That each session of the Convention be opened by addressing the Throne of Grace.
2. At the time appointed for the assembling of each session of the Convention, the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order.
3. The minutes of the preceding session shall be read at the opening of each session, at which time all mistakes, if there be any, shall be corrected.
4. The President shall decide all questions of order subject to an appeal of the Convention.
5. All motions and addresses shall be made to the President, the member rising from his seat.
6. All motions, except those of reference, shall be submitted in writing.
7. All committees shall be appointed by the chair unless otherwise ordered by the Convention.
8. The previous question shall always be in order, and until decided shall preclude all amendment and debate of the main question, and shall be put in this form, "Shall the main question be now put?"
9. No member shall be interrupted while speaking except when out of order, when he shall be called to order by or through the chair.
10. A motion to adjourn shall always be in order, and shall be decided without debate.
11. No member shall speak more than twice on the same question, without the consent of the Convention, nor more than fifteen minutes at each time.
12. No resolution, except of reference, shall be offered to the Convention, except it come through the business committee; but all resolutions rejected by the committee may be presented directly to the Convention if the maker of such wishes to do so.
13. Rule as amended. Sessions of the Convention shall commence at half-past 9 o'clock, A.M., and shall close at 1 o'clock, P.M.; to commence at half-past 2 o'clock, P.M., and close at 6 P.M. Evening session shall commence at half-past 7 o'clock, and close at the discretion of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. McIntyre, seconded by Mr. Hicks, the report of the committee on rules was received. The hour for adjournment having arrived, a motion prevailed that they be laid over for the consideration of the Convention at its next session. By motion, the Convention was adjourned until the hour of half-past 7 P.M.

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Afternoon Session.

The Convention assembled pursuant to adjournment. President in the chair. Prayer by the Rev. James M. Williams. After which the minutes were read and approved.

The President announced, as the first business in order, the rules reported by the committee at the previous session, which were read by the Secretary, and a motion proposed, that they be adopted; pending which Mr. William P. McIntyre made some slight objection to the 11th rule, proposing that it be so amended as to allow members debating *thirty* minutes instead of *fifteen*, as the rule directs; a brief discussion revealed the merits of the rule, and the question was taken on the amendment and lost.

Mr. McIntyre also proposed that the thirteenth rule be so amended, so as to direct that the sessions shall open at half-past 9 A.M., and close at 1 P.M.: and at half-past 2 P.M., and close at 6 P.M.: and at half-past 7 P.M., and close at the discretion of the Convention. After which the question was taken as amended, and adopted. Main question was then called for, and without discussion the rules were declared adopted.

Whereupon Mr. Wm. P. McIntyre introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That all motions or resolutions voted upon and lost, shall not be recorded upon the minutes of the Convention, unless so agreed upon at the time. A brief discussion ensued, and the question taken, and declared lost. A recess of five minutes was granted, and by solicitation Mr. Wm. P. Johnson, of Ithaca, (who it may not be amiss to remark, is totally blind,) favored the Convention with a song, entitled the "Fugitive Slave." After which, the business committee returned, and reported a series of resolutions, which was, by motion of Mr. Myers, seconded by H. Hicks, received.

Resolutions

1. *Resolved*, That the colored citizens and inhabitants of the State of New-York will support all law that comprehends the interest of the people, and the welfare of the State, without regard to condition or complexion.

2. *Resolved*, That the exercise of the rights of franchise is a duty incumbent upon, and appertaining to every freeman, and any and every violation of a uniform rule or law, is inimical to the rights of the people.

3. *Resolved*, That the imposed conditions which are required of every colored citizen or voter, is an imposition in consequence of its proscriptive character, and unwise distinctions, generating contempt for those who are thus imposed upon, and leaving them no escape from degradation.

4. *Resolved*, That for the purposes of elevating the masses, a proper system of education is of paramount importance, and that any system of common or high school education, which teaches superiority of races, or creates distinctions based upon complexional differences, is opposed to the true interest of all classes by inflating the one with the false notions of their greatness, and crushing the other by such influences, as teaches them submission and inferiority.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every good citizen, and especially every colored person, to discountenance, in every practical way, the erection or maintenance of separate schools for colored children.

6. *Resolved*, That we regard the common school law of this State with the most profound interest, conceiving it to be a great means for the Christian and civil advancement of the State, in consequence of the uniform character in the education of all classes of children.

7. *Resolved*, That the trustees or commissioners in usurping the right to wrest this wholesome law in its natural tendency and just course, exhibit a morbid prejudice moving in a sphere far beneath the enlightened policy that clothes them with limited power.

A motion upon the second reading of the committee's report prevailed, that these resolutions be taken up by numbers for adoption.

Resolution 1st was then called for, read, and a motion proposed for adoption; pending which, the following gentlemen engaged in a spirited discussion: Messrs. Wm. P. McIntyre, Hiram Johnson, both of Albany, and Mr. Wm. P. Johnson, of Tompkins county, also Mr. Cutler, of Albany. After which the yeas and nays were called for, and resolution 1st declared adopted.

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solution 2d was then called, read and submitted to the pleasure of vention, which was freely discussed by Messrs. Still, of Brooklyn, of Albany, and J. P. Johnson, of Albany. Question was then taken, 2d resolution adopted.
solution 3d was then called for, read, and by motion submitted to asure of the house, which without discussion, was adopted unanimously. ts adoption Mr. A. C. Beman, of New Haven, proposed its reconsideration. n being stated to that effect, was overruled by the house.
solution 4th was then taken up, and a motion offered that it be ; pending which the following gentlemen engaged in a warm and ting discussion: Messrs. Wright, of Albany, and Wm. P. Johnson, of opposing; and Wm. H. Topp, Wm. P. McIntyre, S. Myers, of Albany, Hicks, of Catskill, sustaining. Hour for adjournment having arrived, n prevailed that the session be extended fifteen minutes. Discussion umed by Mr. Still and Cutler opposing, and Hiram Johnson and Myers ing. After which the Convention adjourned until 7½ P.M.

Evening Session.

e Convention assembled pursuant to adjournment. Prayer by the Rev. lall. After which the minutes of the previous session were read and d. The president announced as the first business in order, the con- tion of the 4th resolution, which was under discussion at the time of ment, which resolution was discussed with increased warmth and ability, rs. Topp sustaining, and R. Wright and others opposing. Yeas and nays en called for, and the resolution declared adopted.
solution 5th was then called, and by motion submitted to the house, without much discussion, was adopted, by Messrs. R. Wright of Albany, Johnson of Ithaca, and J. H. Stills of Brooklyn, dissenting.
solution 6th was read, and a motion being proposed for its adoption, stion was taken without debate, and unanimously adopted.
solution 7th was taken up, and by motion submitted to the pleasure of se, which resolution created a spirited and lucid debate, in which the ing gentlemen freely participated: Mr. Richard Wright and Benjamin opposing and W. H. Topp, C. E. Seth, S. Myers, Wm. P. McIntyre and Williams, sustaining. Pending which, a motion was proposed to adjourn, was overruled by a second motion to extend the session fifteen minutes. a short discussion the yeas and nays were called for on resolution 7th, was adopted.
ev. Amos G. Beman then offered the following resolution:
esolved, That there be a committee appointed, to report upon the ing questions, viz: three on Colonization, three on Elective Franchise, on Schools, and three on the Fugitive Slave Bill. The following nen were appointed:

C. E. Seth,	A. C. Beman,
B. F. Cutler,	J. H. Still,
W. C. Gardner,	J. P. Johnson,
Colonization.	*Fugitive Slave Bill.*
Wm. H. Topp,	H. Johnson,
S. Myers,	R. Wright,
E. H. Hall,	Wm. Rich,
Schools.	*Suffrage Question.*

he fifteen minutes extension of the session having expired, on the Convention adjourned.

SECOND DAY

Wednesday Morning, July 23d, 1851.

The Convention assembled agreeable to adjournment. President in the Prayer by H. Hicks. After which the minutes of the last meeting read and approved. The President announced as the first business in the consideration of the remaining part of the series of resolutions ed by the business committee, or the reconsideration of resolution

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seventh which was pending at the time of adjournment. Seventh resolution was then read, and Mr. McIntyre arose and sustained the resolution in a very happy and able manner. He was opposed, however, by Mr. R. Wright. Mr. Hiram Johnson also sustained the resolution in an eloquent address of fourteen minutes, showing the injustice and usurpation of the course of those to whom the resolution refers, and hoped that the gentlemen seeing it in the light it had been represented would give that resolution their unanimous and uncompromising support.

Mr. J. M. Still arose and begged leave to correct an opinion that grew out of a remark he made yesterday during the discussion on resolution fifth. He stated that he acquiesced with the spirit and principle of the resolution, but was compelled to dissent from the opinions of gentlemen who considered it practicable. The vote was then taken on the resolution and declared adopted.

At this stage the business committee reported resolutions, to wit: 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. By motion of Mr. Wright, seconded by Mr. Hicks, the report of the committee was accepted, and a motion prevailed that they be taken up separately for adoption.

Resolutions

8. *Resolved*, That we look with the same feelings of abhorrence and contempt now as ever upon the scheme of the American Colonization Society in their efforts to expatriate the free colored people of this country, as a scheme fraught with incalculable evils to them as a people, and we record our unalterable protest and condemnation against the project, as unjust and impracticable.

9. *Resolved*, That we regard with solemn interest the admonition of Marquis de La Fayette[5] in his farewell address before Congress, 1783, and recommend a serious contemplation of the same to all true Americans. "May this great monument raised to liberty serve as a lesson to the oppressor and an example to the oppressed."

10. *Resolved*, That we believe it to be the determined policy and premeditated intention of a large portion of the people of this country to keep us debased and dependent, making our condition as unhappy and us to appear unworthy, with the view of forcing upon us one of two alternatives—emigration or alienation.

11. *Resolved*, That this Convention views with deep sorrow and regret the many evils that flow through society from the use of intoxicating liquors as a common beverage, and that it urges upon all in the most earnest manner the importance of discountenancing intemperance in all practicable ways.

12. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of this Convention to urge and encourage with all their power the occupation of the Gerrit Smith grants as one of the most safe and speedy means of alleviating our condition in this state, and also of giving character and respectability to our people throughout the United States.

13. *Resolved*, That this Convention appoint a committee of three to investigate and report on this subject.

14. *Resolved*, That the delegates will encourage the investigation and report of this committee in their respective vicinities.

15. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend as worthy of the patronage and important as auxiliaries in the attainment of the rights of the colored people, and of their moral improvement, the efficient support of the *Impartial Citizen*,[6] edited by Rev. S. R. Ward, in Boston, Mass., and of the *Telegraph*, edited and published in Albany, N. Y., by Stephen Myers, agent of the Delavan State Temperance Union, and *Frederick Douglass' Paper*,[7] published at Rochester, N. Y.

Resolution No. 8 was then called for, read, and a motion being stated for its adoption, Mr. Wm. F. Johnson arose and sustained it elaborately, but made some slight objections to the incongruity of the term "impracticable." Mr. R. Wright thought that this word expressed too much, for with his understanding of the right application of this word it was "practicable" for man to emigrate to all most any part, and therefore he would prefer as a substitute the word proposed by Mr. Wm. F. Johnson "*contemptible*."

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And now, has it come to this, that the descendants of those whose hearts beat true to their country, even unto death, that they, their offspring, are compelled to prove a claim to a common interest and right in those ever glorious achievements; that the man with a swarthy brow or black complexion is compelled to protest against the usurpations of his fairer brother, of the most flagrant and gross wrongs; and the mother cannot successfully vindicate her maternal and unalterable interest in the infant on her breast against the unchristian and inhuman laws of this degenerate land and people. It is enough to startle every christian American with a trembling apprehension that God has given the nation over to their abominations and pride, and that the hand writing of their overthrow is apparent. Mene mene tekel upharsin.[24]

Hiram Johnson,
Richard Wright,
William Rich,
Committee.

Report of Committee on Fugitive Slave Bill

The undersigned appointed a committee to report on the FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, beg leave to submit the following preamble and resolutions:

That we the colored citizens of the State of New-York believing that the dearest rights and liberties, belonging to us as freemen, are fearfully endangered by the *Fugitive Slave Law* recently enacted by our National Legislature, and having a tender sympathy with our brethren who escape from slavery--being assembled in convention to consider said law--do deliberately and seriously *resolve*,

1. That this law, in requiring the freemen of the north to deliver up fugitives from slavery to the iniquitous and oppressive bondage from which they have heroically escaped, is in direct and impious opposition to the command of the Supreme Law Giver--a command, like the moral law, obligatory in all ages from its very nature--"*Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him.*" That this law, in forbidding men under the penalty of heavy fines and imprisonment to harbor or assist fugitives from slavery, is in direct and impious opposition to those laws of God which command deeds of humanity and mercy;--that in both these respects this law is in direct and impious opposition to the essence and sum of "the law and the prophets," declared by the divine Redeemer, "*all things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,*"--and therefore that no man can, in these respects, obey this law, without palpable and flagrant *disobedience* to God.

2. That this law is plainly and essentially opposed to that self-evident truth in the Declaration of Independence by these United States, "that *all* men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness;" and that no man can approve or obey this law without contradicting this united declaration of the people of this Republic.

3. That this law directly and palpably violates those fundamental provisions of the Constitution of the United States which secure to "every person" the right of trial by jury, and in cases occurring under the laws of the United States, the right of trial by a Court of the United States, (which a Commissioner under this law is not) and the privilege of the *habeas corpus* act, and of counsel when accused, and therefore all citizens of the United States are bound by their obligations under the Constitution, not to obey, but to disobey, this law.

4. That the duties of men towards fugitives from oppression are plain--the duties dictated by humanity and mercy--the bestowment of comfort, sympathy, and needful aid; and we call, therefore, on the inhabitants of the state of New-York to imitate the noble example of the people of New Haven, Ct., who, in the days of the hunted and fugitive judges, who condemned to death an oppressive King of England, obeyed the exhortation of their pious pastor, the reverend John Davenport,[25] founded on the Divine command, *Hide the outcast; betray not him that wandereth; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler.*"

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3. That we feel ourselves to be weak, needing help; and we earnestly ask of our white friends to give us their aid in our distress, and to show not only in private, but in public, that they have feeling hearts and willing hands.

6. That we believe that public opinion is the bulwark of all law, and that this ODIOUS AND CRUEL LAW will be entirely inoperative, if the moral sense of this community speaks; and therefore we ask of this community; with the voice of our oppressed people, that they will give such an expression of their sentiments respecting this law as will protect this place from the cries and tears of his victims.

7. That we are fully determined, here in our places, to wait the issue; to rest our cause upon God, upon the friends of religion and humanity, and upon our own manhood; to bear ourselves so as to prove that we are worthy, not only of liberty, but of the full privileges of citizens, some of which are now denied us; and to surrender life rather than to be taken into slavery.

8. *Resolved*, That the fugitive slave law is the law of tyrants.

9. *Resolved*, That disobedience to tyrants is obedience to God.

10. *Resolved*, That we will obey God.

Amos Gerry Beman,
John Nelson Still,
J. P. Johnson,
Committee.

Report of the Committee on Education

Your committee cannot hope to embrace in this report, suggestions that will meet every case connected with the subject of Education; we can only deal with general principles.

First, in order that the general welfare of the *colored* people be improved—that the influence of vice and immorality be overcome—that they may become elevated from that condition of *self*-degradation in which ignorance and vice has engulphed a large proportion of the race, it's all important that they become educated; without education we cannot hope to be emancipated from the bondage of involuntary degradation, which we are placed under by the cruel and malicious system of prejudice and caste. By education must be effected the full developments of those hidden and important truths, which when brought to bear upon the hearts and consciences of mankind, shine forth in the beauty of their nature and illumine their minds, to the end that all members of the great human family shall have accorded to them their full and complete rank as such, regardless of any outward circumstances as denote birth or country.

Education here must be considered intellectually, morally and physically. There can be no harmonious development of character where attention is given only to the growth and strengthening of particular divisions of capacity, without reference to the entire man. A system of discipline which tends simply to improve the physical nature, or even the physical and moral without regard to the intellectual, produces at best but gigantic strength, the lowest type of man's excellency. And a superstitious religion is always debasing and even dangerous in proportion as it is removed from the light of reason and mental culture. This is not more philosophically true, than proven in the general history of the human race.

Education then, properly understood, has to do with all the laws and principles that regulate our progress in this life, and only answers its legitimate duty when it seeks to elevate, to liberalize, to christianize. To this end, it gives to its subjects a clearer vision and a greater power to bring out hidden virtues and to combat those errors and prejudices that only live as they are able to pervert man's minds and to make them low and groveling.

These truths are clearly seen in the facts that surround us on every side, in the great struggle now being waged between the oppressor and the oppressed. In the community about us, we are realizing daily the bitter evidence, that an education given in a one-sided direction, and continued for a series of years from father to child, grows up into a system all powerful in the accomplishment of its ends, and subduing to its aims well nigh every mind that receives it. Dictated by that self-love that delights to claim superiority and to exercise rule, we see the social and school education of the

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "Resolutions at the Ohio Convention, held at Xenia, Ohio, 10-12 Jan. 1865," and "Preamble and Article 2 of State Equal Rights League," in Foner and Walker, Proceedings of Black State Conventions, I, 349-351.

Suggested Uses: Civil War, Reconstruction (what issues were important to African-Americans as the Civil War was ending?), African-American History

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Choral Reading
2) Question and answer
3) Group work comparing the demands of other black state conventions (see the various documents from these conventions in the Assignments section of this project

Questions:
1) What fears do these delegates have as the Civil War is coming to an end?
2) What goals do they have or want to achieve?
3) Whom do they praise? Whom do they condemn?
4) What indicates their pride?
5) What indicates their desire for self-improvement?
6) How do they reject stereotypes and promote the idea of self-reliance and self-help?
7) Why had the war been important to them?

Muskingum County

Wesley Cassaway. . . . . Zanesville.
Dr. J. McSimpson . . . . . "
W. R. Kinney . . . . . Putnam.

Shelby County

A. M. Redman . . . . . Dinsmore P.O.
J. D. Betts. . . . . Anna P.O.

Delaware County

F. D. Merrit . . . . . Delaware.
E. R. Conrad . . . . . "

Miami County

Joshua Smith . . . . . Troy.
Rev. J. P. Wilson. . . . . Piqua.
C. W. Wilson . . . . . "
Rev. John Miller . . . . . "
R. O. Smith. . . . . "

Ross County

John M. Williams . . . . . Chillicothe.

Hamilton County

P. H. Clark. . . . . Cincinnati.
Jackson M. Moore . . . . . "
John P. Sampson. . . . . "
Rev. Rufus Conrad. . . . . "
Rev. J. A. Shorter . . . . . "

Athens County

John T. Berry. . . . . Lee P.O.

Gallia County

Elder Henry Williams . . . . . Gallipolis.

Jackson County

Charles A. Yancy . . . . . Berlin X. Roads.

Meigs County

H. Coles . . . . . Pomeroy.

Clinton County

Solomon Day. . . . . Martinsville.

Washington County

C. W. Harrison . . . . . Harmar.

Honorary Members

Robert Hamilton. . . . . .184 Church Street, New York City.

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W. D. Jones. . . . . Chatham, C.W.
P. H. Murray . . . . . Reading, Pennsylvania.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION

1. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of our Government and the Union, against all enemies, at home or abroad, that our fathers fought to establish, and we will fight to maintain them; that we will not hesitate in the prompt performance of our duty to the nation in this, its dreadful hour of peril, but will prove with our blood that we deserve to be treated as American citizens.

2. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention the day is near at hand, when that unditigated horror, that crime against God and humanity, that sum of all villainies, that hell-born, heaven-defying institution, American slavery, hated of men everywhere, will cease to exist in the United States.

3. *Resolved*, That we hail the event with joy and thanksgiving, as turning a bright page in the history of progressive civilization, a triumph of just principles, a practical assertion of the fundamental truths laid down in the great charter of Republican liberty, the Declaration of Independence.

4. *Resolved*, That while we rejoice in its overthrow as a system, there are serious reasons to fear that we will, in another form, remain its victims so long as we are helpless subjects of arbitrary legislation; and having been pronounced citizens by the judicial advisers of the Government; having been taxed for its support, required to hazard and sacrifice our lives in its defense, we do, therefore, solemnly ask, in the name of justice, that there shall remain no laws, State or National, making distinction on account of color.

5. *Resolved*, That the safety of the Republic demands that, in the Territories, in the rebel States, when reorganized, and throughout the entire nation, colored men shall exercise the elective franchise, and be otherwise fully clothed with the rights of American citizens.

6. *Resolved*, That there still remain upon the statute books of Ohio, laws unjustly making distinction on account of color, and we earnestly protest against them, and demand of our Legislature the laws be purified, and made to conform to the requirements of Republican justice.

7. *Resolved*, That we view with pride, the generous ardor of our fellow-citizens, men of color, who have rushed to the standard of their country, and have, in so many bloody fights, maintained the honor of their race, their State and their country.

8. *Resolved*, That justice demands that the path of promotion should be opened to them, and that they should have the same incentive to honorable exertion as are presented to the white soldier.

9. *Resolved*, That we extend to our newly emancipated brothers and sisters of the South, just emerging from their night of slavery, our right hand of fellowship and most cordial God-speed, and advise them to enter upon their new and free life with an earnest determination to cultivate among themselves education, temperance, frugality and morality, together with all other things "that pertain to a well ordered and dignified life," and we pledge to these, our brothers and sisters, a constant and manly endeavor, on our part, to secure to them, and ourselves, complete freedom and enfranchisement in this, our native land and under American laws.

10. *Resolved*, That we do also advise our newly emancipated brothers and sisters who have lived together as husbands and wives, according to slave-holding usages, while slaves, as soon as practicable to be married according to law, and thus legalize their marriage and legitimate their children.

Whereas, It is the opinion of the Convention that it is through the Divine Agency that the present war is thrust upon the American Government, as a just retribution for its insults to justice and its inhumanity to the colored people of the United States, and

Whereas, We believe it to be the duty of every colored man to yield a cheerful obedience to that Divine Agency, and

Whereas, We are convinced that it can be most effectually complied with by giving the Union Army service and support, therefore

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11. *Resolved*, That in our petitions to the authorities of the Government, asking all the rights of American citizens, that we do not mean to include such as have illegally evaded, or refused in any way, to assist the Federal Army to subdue the rebellion.

12. *Resolved*, That we hail with joy the emancipation of slaves in the State of Missouri, and also the re-election of Abraham Lincoln,[3] and the installation of S. P. Chase as the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.[4]

13. *Resolved*, That as fathers and brothers of the brave colored troops in the Army of the James, this Convention express our deepest gratitude to Major General Butler for his fatherly and impartial treatment of the colored soldiers under his command.

14. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Convention that the colored man or woman who will not do for a colored person, the circumstances being the same, what they would do for a white person, is unworthy of our respect and confidence.

Whereas, Many of our rural districts are not thoroughly informed as to their rights and privileges under the State school laws, and

Whereas, In many cases said districts are deliberately deprived of said rights by Boards of Education; therefore be it

15. *Resolved*, That the executive Board shall compile, in a circular all laws and parts of laws bearing on the educational interests of the colored people of Ohio, and circulate the same where needed.

16. *Resolved*, That this Convention, in view of its very high appreciation of the conduct of our brothers in arms, feel called upon to inquire of the General Government what direct action, if any, has yet been taken to release our brave soldiers and sailors now prisoners in the hands of rebels. And that we ask of the authorities prompt retaliation for any wrongs done them.[5]

17. *Resolved*, That we appoint a committee of three persons, whose duty it shall be to ascertain the number of men from the State of Ohio who are filling regiments credited to other States; also the number of such men who have been killed, wounded or captured by the enemy, and for the sake of such killed, wounded or captured soldiers, or their families, seek to have the bounty pay or pension due them paid to them, and, if possible, to have such men credited to the State of Ohio.

18. *Whereas*, We believe great injustice has been done to colored recruits and substitutes by colored and white bounty brokers, acting as recruiting agents, who practice deception upon them, and take advantage of their ignorance, we feel that such men are not worthy of our confidence and respect, and they meet our most hearty disapprobation.

19. *Resolved*, That the delegates of this Convention be and they are hereby requested to use, in their several localities, their best endeavors to procure signatures to petitions asking the Legislature of this State to adopt such measures as will secure the repeal of all laws making distinctions on account of color; said petitions to be first forwarded to the President of the League at Cincinnati.

20. *Resolved*, That we view with pride and heartily indorse the efforts of the gentlemen composing the Faculties and Executive Boards of the Wilberforce University at Xenia, O.; the Albany Enterprise at Albany, O.; the Oberlin College at Oberlin, Lorain Co., O.; and the Iberia College in Morrow Co., O., to develop the intellectual powers of our youth, and for opening a field for the honorable employment of those powers.

21. *Resolved*, That we recommend to the patronage of the colored people of the State of Ohio, as the best family periodicals, the *Anglo-African*, *Christian Recorder*, and *Colored Citizen*.

22. *Resolved*, That this Convention return thanks to D. Jenkins, Esq., for his untiring efforts to effect the passage of the law securing to the families of our brave soldiers and sailors their rights, and also the passage of an amendment to the school law.

23. *Resolved*, That we do most respectfully recommend to the Executive Board of the State Equal Right's League, as a suitable person to act as an agent on behalf of the colored people of this State, with members of our State Legislature, to secure our rights according to law, David Jenkins, Esq., of Columbus, Ohio.

24. *Resolved*, That we recommend the Executive Committee of the State Rights League to print, for general circulation, the address of the National Convention to the people of the United States, if their funds will permit.

25. *Resolved*, That the members of the Convention, who assembled in Xenia on the 10th of January, 1865, in the First Baptist Church, return their hearty and sincere thanks to the citizens of Xenia and the members of said Church, for the hospitable manner in which they have been entertained; also that we heartily thank the officers of our Convention for the manner in which they have performed their duties.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OHIO STATE AUXILIARY EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE

Preamble

Believing that by united action on our part, we can do much to encourage sound morality, education, temperance, frugality and industry among the people, and promote everything to a well-ordered and dignified life; that we can obtain, by appeals to the minds and consciences of the American people, or by legal process, when necessary, a recognition of the rights of the colored people of Ohio as American citizens; and believing, also, that such united action can be secured in our State, through the instrumentality of a State organization; therefore, we hereby agree to form ourselves into a State Equal Rights League, and to be governed by the following

Constitution

Art. 1st. This Association shall be called The Ohio State Auxiliary Equal Rights League.

Art. 2nd. The object of this League shall be to secure, by political and moral means as far as may be, the repeal of all laws and parts of laws, State and National, that make distinctions on account of color.

Art. 3d. To accomplish this object the Society shall establish its headquarters permanently in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. There it shall have its office and business room. It shall also employ the press and such numbers of agents and lecturers as may be needed to carry out the objects of its creation.

Art. 4th. Any person may become a member of this League, by subscribing to its principles as above expressed, and by making such contributions to its funds as he or she may be able. Church organizations, societies and schools may become auxiliary on the same conditions, and shall be entitled to send delegates to the annual meetings of the League.

Art. 5th. The officers of the League shall be, a President, Vice President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall hold their offices one year, or until their successors are chosen and qualified, and who, with five persons chosen from the remaining members of the League, shall constitute an Executive Board.

Art. 6th. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the League and the Executive Board. In his absence, these duties shall be performed by the Vice President. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to keep a full and complete record of the doings of the League and of the Executive Board, which record shall be open to the inspection of the members of the League at all times. It shall be the further duty of the Recording Secretary to keep all the books and papers belonging to the League at the office in Cincinnati. And it shall further be the duty of the Recording Secretary to take charge of and keep in good order the offices and business rooms of the League. For the performance of these duties, the Recording Secretary shall receive such compensation as the Executive Board may determine.

The duties of the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer shall be such as usually attach to such offices. The Treasurer shall give bonds in the sum of one thousand dollars ($1,000), as security for the proper disbursement of all funds that may come into his hands, and shall make a report to the Executive Board of all moneys received by him and expended under its order, at its quarterly meetings.

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ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "Afternoon Session, Wednesday, November 21, 1855," at Sacramento, 20-22 November, 1855, and "Report of the Committee on Education," "Report and Resolutions," and "Statistical Reports," at Sacramento, 25-27 Oct. 1865, in Foner and Walker, Proceedings of Black State Conventions, II, 120-121, 175-185.

Suggested Uses: Western History, Antebellum free black society, early civil rights, Civil War, Reconstruction, African-American History

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Question and answer
2) Choral reading
3) Group work, selecting the various documents and then asking each group to compare what their document said with the other documents

Questions:
1) What were the goals of the delegates in 1855? in 1865?
2) What barriers do the delegates face in trying to achieve their goals?
3) What is the tone of the resolutions and reports in 1855? in 1865?
4) Why is education important to the delegates?
5) What can you tell from these limited statistical reports about blacks in California in 1865?
6) What other evidence do we need to evaluate the status of blacks in California in 1865?

must exert ourselves to accomplish something here. There is plenty of land for us to cultivate, but we must not delay, for the next year there will come to these Pacific shores thousands of men from the old world, and every vacant spot will be taken.

Mr. David Lewis said: One of the most important things for our present consideration is, to obtain the right to be heard upon oath in the courts of justice--this is the one thing needful. As it is, the law is to us a dead letter, a broken staff to lean upon. The oath that should protect life, liberty, and property, all that should throw the shield of law around ourselves and families, is denied us. Now we have no protection, and stand as nothing. "The oath" would make people careful how they act before us. We should then have a voice. As it is, we are scarcely recognized as human beings.

Mr. Ruggles--'Tis an injury to the white man as well as to ourselves, to deny us the right of being heard under oath. Justice is often checked in her course, and the guilty are suffered to escape because the only witnesses to their guilt are those upon whom the law has cast the stigma of being unworthy to be heard.

Mr. Newby gave notice that the Business Committee were ready to report, having united both series of resolutions offered at the opening of this meeting. He hoped this course would put an end to all misunderstanding, and secure the approval of all.

Mr. Stokes was in favor of having the report presented immediately, and he hoped it would be adopted without further debate. He offered a motion to that effect.

This was objected to by several. Some discussion followed. Mr. Stokes withdrew his motion.

The Convention, by vote, adjourned to four o'clock, P.M., after the benediction by the Chaplain.

Afternoon Session, Wednesday, November 21, 1855.

Convention called to order at four o'clock, President Yates in the chair.

The Business Committee, by their chairman, presented their report, as follows:

Whereas, We, the colored people of the State of California, believing that the laws of this State, relating to the testimony of colored people in the courts of justice, recorded in 394th section of chapter 3d of an act entitled "an act for regulating proceedings in the court practice of the courts of this State," as follows: "*And persons having one-half or more of negro blood*, shall not be witnesses in an action or proceeding to which a white person is a party"--to be unjust in itself, and oppressive to every class in the community; that this law was intended to protect white persons from a class whose intellectual and social condition was supposed to be so low as to justify the depriving them of their testimony.

And, whereas, We believe that careful inquiries into our social, moral, religious, intellectual, and financial condition, will demonstrate that, as a class, allowing for the disabilities under which we labor, we compare favorably with any class in the community.

And, whereas, We believe that petitions to the Legislature, to convene in January, praying for the abrogation of this law will meet with a favorable response; believing, as we do, that it cannot be sustained on the ground of sound policy or expediency:

1. *Resolved*, That the laws of evidence in judicial investigations should be accommodated to and identical with the laws of the human mind; and, therefore, every fact and circumstance having a tendency to throw light upon the subject under investigation, should be heard and judged of according to their relative weight and value, and with reference to all the circumstances of credit or discredit connected with them.

2. *Resolved*, That past experience has abundantly shown that all attempts to establish artificial standards of credibility, depending upon such tests as race, color, creed or country, are as unwise as they are unjust; that they serve only on the one side to obstruct the investigation of truth by the erection of useless barriers, and on the other to defraud the excluded classes, while at the same time they subject them in their lives, in their

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persons, and in their property, to outrage and injustice with impunity, from the more favored classes.

3. *Resolved*, That the true and only tests of credibility in a witness, are his intelligence, integrity, and his disinterestedness; and that, as a race, we are willing to be subject to these tests, to be applied in each case as it occurs, and that we ought not to be subject to any other.

4. *Resolved*, That to a class of people, the right of testimony is as valuable as the right of self-defense; a right which no generous foe will deny, even to an enemy.

5. *Resolved*, That all classes, without distinction, are interested in the removal of all barriers as witnesses, imposed upon the African race in California, as unwise, unnecessary for the protection of the white race, and unjust towards the proscribed classes, "as taking that which naught enriches it, but leaves them poor indeed;" that these classes, in the consciousness of the injustice done them in this respect, say with the old Grecian, "Strike, but hear me."

6. *Resolved*, That we memorialize the Legislature at its approaching session, to repeal the third and fourth paragraphs of section three hundred and ninety-four of an Act passed April 20th, 1851, entitled, "An Act to regulate proceeding in civil cases, in the Courts of Justice of this State," and also for the repeal of section fourteen of an Act entitled "An Act concerning Crimes and Punishments," passed April 6th 1850.

7. *Resolved*, That a State Executive Committee be appointed by the Convention, with full powers to adopt such measures as may be deemed expedient to accomplish the object in view.

No. 8. *Resolved*, That we recommend the organization of a State Association, with auxiliaries in every county, for the purpose of collecting statistical and other evidence of our advancement and prosperity; also to encourage education, and a correct and proper deportment in our relations towards our white fellow citizens and to each other.

No. 9. *Resolved*, That we regret and reprobate the apathy and timidity of a portion of our people, in refusing to take part in any public demonstration, having for its object the removal of political and other disabilities, by judicious and conservative action.

Resolved, That we recommend the creation of a contigent fund of twenty thousand dollars, to be controlled by a Committee having discretionary powers, to enable us to carry forward any measure that has for its object the amelioration of our condition.

On motion of Mr. Anderson, the report of the Committee was received and adopted by acclamation, amidst much applause.

H. H. Collins offered the following resolution, which was also adopted without discussion:

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to arrange as they may deem proper, and procure the printing of the proceedings of this Convention, in pamphlet form:

J. B. Sanderson, H. H. Collins, D. P. Stokes, W. H. Hevby, J. G. Wilson, } Publishing Committee.

Mr. Anderson commenced reading a series of resolutions referring to the action of the National Convention of colored people, assembled in Philadelphia recently, but he was ruled out of order by the President, who declared that while he presided over the deliberations of the Convention, no extraneous subjects should be brought forward to disturb the harmony of its proceedings. They had assembled for one object only, and the Convention should not swerve from it to debate the expediency of the actions of men in Philadelphia, Boston or Charleston. The Chair was sustained by acclamation.

On motion of T. H. B. Ward, it was voted "that each Delegate shall receive five copies of the printed proceedings of this Convention, when published.

This Resolution, offered by Mr. Townsend, was adopted:

No. 13. *Resolved*, That this Convention appoint a special Committee of seven persons, to collect statistics relating to the colored people in the

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demanded our chiefest attention and labors. Now was the time when it became a paramount duty with us to carry out our resolves; to long for knowledge and learning, without putting our shoulders to the wheel in earnest, would never help to raise us out of the slough of ignorance. It was with pride that he saw the master spirits of the nation devoting their attention and assistance to the education of the Freedmen, which, when obtained, would enable them to stand erect as men, compete with, contend for, and demand their rights as men, irrespective of race or complexion.

Mr. Ruggles next addressed the Convention. He endorsed the resolution for many reasons. When a slave in Louisiana, after having been sold five times, he was presented to a slaveholder. Upon one occasion, when an English gentleman, a friend of his master, was learning him the A, B, C, was strongly reproved, and informed that by so doing he laid himself liable to be imprisoned in the State prison. The gentleman was astonished. He learned to read and write by the light of the fire. Mr. Ruggles, in eloquent terms, urged mothers to commence the education of their children at home. Was angered when white men slandered his race, and felt grieved to think that some of the able colored men did not refute the charges. What was one dollar to give? He was willing to give five dollars per month, and if any number of gentlemen would give twenty dollars towards the purchase, he would give fifty dollars. He wished it to revert, in all ages to come, that the Pacific coast could boast such splendid school advantages.

Motion, by A. L. Jackson, to postpone further debate until 12 o'clock to-morrow, stating he thought they would be able to secure the Methodist Church, on Sixth st.

Mr. H. C. Briggs kindly informed them that they could have it as early on the morrow and as long as they wished--which was received with loud applause.

The motion of Mr. Jackson was then put and carried.

Upon motion of Mr. Starkey, a vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Briggs for the use of his church.

Report of the Committee on Education

Your Committee appointed to consider upon the subject of Education, present the following as their Report:

The greatest distinction between the human and the animal branches of creation, is the facility to acquire education of the higher grades. Some specimens of the animal creation may acquire education to a certain degree, but there it stops--it can go no further; their instincts, by which alone they are governed, cannot carry them beyond that point. When the reasoning faculties come into requisition, the progression of the animal stops, and we see the power of the human mind.

Analyzation, comparison, analogy, description, and their kindred attributes, are all the results of reflection; and the reasoning faculties, which are distinct from the instinctive qualities of the brute, and are emanations of the God-like power from which source man has his being, and to develop which is his chief end and aim.

That can only be accomplished by his having all possible facilities of education, and every means open to him for improving his mind and enlarging his understanding; and to none are these facilities more requisite than to a race whose ancestors have for generations been deprived of all opportunities for mental improvement--against whom the portals of the Temple of Knowledge have been closed, and who are, even now, but emerging from the barbarism of slavery, and from whose minds the clouds of ignorance and superstition are just breaking away. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we present a petition to the Legislature to so amend the School Law that colored children, by its provisions, shall receive the benefit of its advantages in common with others; and,

Whereas, The School at San Jose, being already established, and in successful operation, requires the prompt and earnest aid of our people, as well as their whole influence; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a contribution of one dollar be solicited from every colored person throughout the State of California to purchase the property of the San Jose School; and also, that the Legislature be petitioned for an endow-

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ment for the establishment of a High School. Be it furthermore

Resolved, That this Convention most earnestly solicit the shareholders composing the Livingstone Institute to contribute whatever funds they may have accumulated towards the objects above contemplated. Be it further

Resolved, That this Convention heartily approves of the objects of the Lincoln Monument Association, and that it will do all in its power to perpetuate the memory of the man who wrote the Proclamation that rent asunder the chains of four millions of bondmen!

W. H. Hall,
P. A. Bell,
T. M. D. Ward, } Committee.

A communication was presented from a Committee of Ladies of the Siloam Baptist Church, informing the members that a Fruit Festival would be given on Friday evening, in aid of the building fund of the church. Read and laid on the table.

The Chairman of the Business Committee presented the continuation of their report, when the several resolutions and recommendations were ably discussed.

Moved, that the report be adopted by sections. Carried.

The following is the

Report and Resolutions

The Business Committee having duly considered the importance of the duty assigned them, respectfully present the following preamble, resolutions, and recommendations, as their report:

Whereas, This Government has just recovered from the terrible stroke of a just retribution of Almighty God, for the fearful crime of slavery, which brought the nation reeling and tottering upon the brink of ruin, with her highest hopes trembling in the great balance of immutable events; and, whereas, in the fearful reckoning of Divine Justice our nation was not entirely found wanting, and God's gracious hand stayed the destroying angel of devastating war, upon his crimson wings, and the voice of the turtle of peace is heard in our land, therefore,

Resolved--That we rejoice in the suppression of the war and the overthrow of the rebellion in our land--the most formidable ever waged against justice and humanity.

Resolved--That we rejoice that this war has resulted in the overthrow of slavery, and its total extinction by Federal legislation, in an amendment to the Constitution.

Resolved--That we have a new love for the American Union, and shall ever willingly lay down our lives in defence of the great principles of our Republic,--for the glory of our country, the freedom of our race, the rights of our citizenship, and the preservation of the Union--maintained upon Republican principles.

Resolved--That if the American Government will become sufficiently just to accord to us the full rights of citizenship, we will flock to the American standard by hundreds of thousands at the call of the nation, to support those principles against enemies of the country--domestic or foreign.

Resolved--That as five millions of our race are equally interested with the rest of the American people, in those great principles that are now involved in the issues of the nation, therefore it is our highest and most sacred duty to bring into requisition every available means to assist us in the great contest for our claims, to manhood and "Equality before the Law."

Resolved--That we believe the most potent elements any class of men can wield in the defence of their natural and political rights, are virtue, wealth, political franchise, and social unity.

Resolved--That we recommend our brethren in this State, and throughout the country, to aim to develop the highest state of Christian morals, by maintaining true Christian and moral institutions, under the direction of faithful and pious leaders.

8.--That we especially recommend our brethren to maintain temperance among them.

9.--That we recommend our brethren to aim at the same high order of

education developed among the white race, and to make such persistent claims on the public educational provisions, and to establish such institutions, where necessary and practicable, as will insure to us and our children that desirable condition.

10.--That wealth is an element of social power necessary to raise any people to an independent and influential position, and that we, as a people, should particularly direct our aims, our efforts, and pursuits, to its honorable acquisition.

11.--That no people can acquire wealth except they engage in those business pursuits by which it is originally produced.

12.--That the real source of the production of wealth, is agriculture, manufacturing, mechanism, commerce, and scientific professions.

13.--That we recommend our people to engage more generally in these independent pursuits of industry.

14.--That no people can secure the highest respect of others while they put themselves at their feet to be their menials.

15.--That a State Executive Committee of one member from each Judicial District be appointed by this Convention, to whom shall be referred the unfinished business and the duty of carrying out the work organized and contemplated by this Convention.

16.--That while we acknowledge our unswerving fealty to the Government, we are greatly dissatisfied with the policy pursued by the Government, (since our immortal and glorious Lincoln fell); respecting those issues of the country that most immediately effects the colored Americans.

17.--That no Christian nation with any real sense of justice or humanity, could ask a class of people to assist in saving the Government from destruction, and after they had sacrificed hundreds and thousands of their lives to that effect, to then deny them of the common rights that nature has endowed them with; rights involving principles upon which the Government founded its political institutions, pronounced by them to be the natural rights of all man.

18.--That it is the imperative duty of parents, or guardians of children, to have them as far as possible, educated in some branch of business pursuits, by which they may be producers.

19.--That as memorialization is the common medium of appeal, by the American citizen, to the law making power, against all political grievences, therefore it is our right, and duty, to petition the Legislature of this State to have the State Constitution so amended as to secure its colored citizens the right of suffrage.

20.--That we appeal to them for our right of suffrage upon the principle of human justice, taught in the great Divine Rule, "do unto others, as you would they should do unto you,"--upon the principles of man's natural equal rights; on the principle of maintaining the principles of the Republic, as a claim upon every true American, true Union loving man, Patriot and Christian in the country, for their signature to our petition.

21.--That an ably and faithfully conducted press is indispensable for the public vindication of our equal rights before the law, and to fully and impartially advocate our general interests.

22.--That there be a committee appointed by this Convention to prepare an address to the people of this State, on the subjects of general education, industrial pursuits and moral institutions, the said address to be published with our minutes, in pamphlet form, by a publishing committee. (Referred to published committee).

23.--That this Convention recommend [to] our people in this State and throughout the country, to set apart through their religious leaders, a day of fasting and prayer, that Almighty God may control the nation's council at its next meeting, to ensure its legislation in favor of justice, humanity and equal rights to all men.

24.--That members of the State Executive Committee be instructed, and the members of this Convention, be requested to form County Executive Committees throughout the State, auxiliary to the State Committee, to further the

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purposes and affecting the objects of this Convention.

J. J. Moore,
E. P. Duplex,
W. H. Hall,
E. A. Clark,
H. H. Small,
} Committee.

Adjourned until the extra session, at 7 o'clock, P.M.

SECOND DAY

Evening Session.

The President in the chair, and a quorum of members present.

Prayer by the Chaplain.

So much of the minutes as related to the special object of the meeting, viz: to receive statistical reports from the different delegations, was read and adopted.

Mr. H. H. Small rose to ask privilege to make a motion; it was pertinent to the subject matter before the house. Leave granted. He moved that Mr. P. Anderson be added to the Committee on Statistics. Seconded by Mr. Ward.

Mr. E. A. Hall opposed the motion. Mr. Anderson had shown his insincerity and his unwillingness to act in unison with other members. He delivered a speech here yesterday morning, by permission, and instead of leaving it with the Secretary, it was published in full. He would like to know whether it had been published by the Secretary, or whether some underhanded means had been used to accomplish it. He hoped Mr. Small would withdraw his motion.

Mr. Small said he had expected opposition; was satisfied the San Francisco delegation would oppose anything in which Mr. Anderson's name was mentioned; that gentleman, from his experience, was well qualified for the position, and he hoped he would be appointed. He did not wish to accuse the President of partiality in appointing Committees, but he thought a spirit of partisanship had been shown. He would not withdraw his motion.

Mr. Ruggles opposed the motion. The mover was not probably aware of many facts, but he would not relate them here. The Committee on Statistics he considered capable of performing their duty, and he did not believe they required any addition to their number.

The President, Mr. Barbadoes, left the chair, and Mr. Harper, 1st Vice President, acted in his stead.

Mr. Barbadoes wished to defend himself from the implied charge of partiality. He had no personal feeling against Mr. Anderson, but he doubted his sincerity. He (Mr. A.) opposed this Convention with all his force, accusing all who favored it of sinister motives and dishonesty. At last, finding it was a popular movement, he had, by unfair means, got himself elected a member of this Convention; and had not yet even expressed any change of opinion, hence he considered that gentleman unfit to hold any position in this body. Independent of that consideration, he had been governed in his selections for asking Committees, by the ability possessed rather than assumed; and he believed the House would sustain him in both points, and in excluding Mr. Anderson from the Committees.

Mr. Anderson threw back the charge of forcing himself upon the Convention. He was elected by a larger majority than any other delegate from San Francisco; he had not asked the gentlemen to bring the subject before this body; he would appeal to his constituents; he had been solicited by the Chairman of the Committee on Statistics for information, which he refused to give; he expected to be made the butt and victim of his foes, but his constituents would do him justice.

Several other gentlemen participated in the debate, when the question was called and lost.

The Convention then proceeded to the special order of business. The different delegations through their Chairmen, presented statistical reports.

The reports were very interesting, and furnished a great deal of valuable information. They were referred to the Committee on Statistics.

Basil Campbell, delegate from Yolo, presented statistics from the adjoining counties of Colusa and Tehama, which were not represented. The delega-

tion from Yuba county presented an able report.

Mr. Hubbard stated that since the colored citizens of California last assembled in Convention several of our friends and representative men who formerly joined with us in our deliberations, had been removed by death; and by permission of this Convention he would, on Friday evening, deliver an eulogy on the lives, characters and services of the late Wm. H. Newby, John Freeman, Jr., John G. Wilson and Wm. H. Bedford. He then moved that a Committee on Condolence be appointed. Carried.

The Chair appointed Messrs. J. H. Hubbard, P. Hollingsworth, and R. H. Small.

Moved that we adjourn, to meet to-morrow morning in Mr. Brigg's church, on Sixth street. Carried.

Prayer by the Chaplain.

Adjourned.

THIRD DAY

Morning Session, Friday, October 27th.

Convention met this day in M.E. Church, Sixth street, at 9 o'clock. The President called the House to order.

Prayer by the Chaplain.

Roll called. Minutes of last meeting read.

While the Secretary was reading the minutes, Mr. Yates moved that only so much of the minutes as related to the business of the present meeting be read. Carried.

Mr. Yates moved that the 16th resolution be re-committed to the Committee, with instructions to amend. He said we were not in a position to dictate to Government; we were not able to judge what was to come. President Johnson has the ghost of John Tyler to warn him against treachery; the living shade of Millard Fillmore to bind him to the principles he professed, and the Constitution to define his every act, it is impossible for us to throw cold water on what has been accomplished. The time was not very distant when the black man was looked upon as a political leper, and for our friends to defend us was political death. More has been accomplished within the last four years than I ever expected to see in my day and time. We are willing to pay the price of liberty, as has been fully demonstrated.

Mr. Moore urged that the time had arrived for men to speak out boldly, and let the world know what we think as men. He is opposed to anything like cringing. We have a perfect right to read and criticise the acts of our Government. President Johnson will hear the appeal of the most humble black man, when properly presented.

Messrs. Small and Clark advocated the passage of the resolution, in some well timed remarks.

R. A. Hall hoped that all sensitiveness would be laid aside, and that all business before the House would be deliberated upon and be dispatched as speedily as possible.

Mr. Yates withdrew his motion to re-commit.

Reading of the report continued.

Mr. Ward moved that so much as refers to industrial pursuits, viz.: resolutions 12, 13 and 14, be referred to the Committee on that subject. Carried.

The balance of the report was thereupon received and adopted.

Mr. Yates offered the following resolution:

> *Resolved*--That we sympathize with the Fenian movement[2] to liberate Ireland from the yoke of British bondage, and when we have obtained our full citizenship in this country, we should be willing to assist our Irish brethren in their struggle for National Independence; and 40,000 colored troops could be raised to butt the horns off the hypocritical English bull.

Mr. Yates was opposed to English Autocrats, for as soon as the war broke out that "cotton superceded wool," favored Fenianism, believed in uni-

versal liberty, that the Irish position was one of oppression, alike with the slave. The assertion was made that the slave would fight, but the freemen would not. We nobly refuted that in the glorious 54th Massachusetts, which was composed of different material from any regiment that preceded it; many of them were formerly slaves, and to be taken a prisoner, Andersonville[3] would be excelled. Their record we all know.--Would like to see forty regiments of blacks, go across the Atlantic to help give liberty to the oppressed of Ireland. I would gladly number one of them. He hoped it would be referred to the Business Committee.

Wm. H. Hall hoped the Committee would endorse something of the kind. The resolution was not introduced for any buncombe; he was serious in advocating the matter. Politicians had prejudiced the Irishman against the black man; he believed in universal liberty, irrespective of color.

Mr. Hubbard opposed the resolution. He considered the Irishman the most deceitful of all nations; were controlled largely by the Roman Church. We will forget self to extend a helping hand across the ocean to the Irishman.

Mr. Small favored the resolution, and thought one of the proudest things a black man could do would be to assist with forty thousand men, or more, in writing Emmett's epitaph.

Mr. Hoyt said it was better in passing resolutions to word them as we mean. Favored broad, universal freedom; God will break down the barriers over right; the Chinese and Indians in our very midst stand in need of our sympathy and encouragement.

R. A. Hall (by permission), thought both sides should be heard; did not believe the Pope ever instructed Irishmen to hate and abuse the black man; such sentiments as those of Daniel O'Connell[4] he loved, who would willingly sacrifice life for the freedom of his people.

Mr. Hubbard alluded to the published statement of Bishop Hughes, who went to Rome a Union man, and returned a Copperhead at heart.[5]

By Mr. Hall.--Mr. Hughes never was considered a sound Union man.

The motion was laid on the table.

Report of the Committee on Industrial Pursuits read and received.

It being 12 o'clock, the special order, the report of the Committee on Education, was called up.

The Address and Resolutions were ably advocated, and the report adopted.

The Finance Committee reported progress. They recommended that each member be taxed $3, to pay the expenses of the Convention.

Mr. Anderson moved, as an amendment to the report, that the tax be $2.

Amendment lost, and the report and recommendation adoption.

The roll was called, and the members paid $3 each.

Mr. Anderson paid under protest. He said he should appeal to his constituents.

Moved that the honorary members be exempt from taxation. Carried.

Benediction by the Chaplain.

Adjourned.

THIRD DAY

Afternoon Session.

The President, F. G. Barbadoes, in the Chair.

Prayer by Rev. J. H. Hubbard.

Roll called. Minutes of last meeting read and approved.

J. H. Starkey, Chairman of Committee on Statistics, presented the following report, which was adopted:

Statistical Reports

The Committee on Statistical Information, in presenting their report, beg leave to say that they regret the limited means which have been afforded them on which to base a report such as they would like to present to the Convention, as evidence of the progress in wealth, morals, education and industrial pursuits of the colored people of California. That we have made and are making continual progress in all the above, is undeniable, and we offer our

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brief and imperfect report of such progress to establish our claim to the rights and privileges of citizenship:

SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY

Population

Adults	1,600
Children	250
Total	1,850

Religious and Moral Institutions

Churches		2
	Value	$30,000
	Members	250
	Attendants	800
Beneficial Societies		4
	Funds	$ 4,000
	Members	140
Masonic Lodges		4
	Members	
Sabbath Schools		3
	Pupils	120

Common Institutions

Public Day Schools		2
	Pupils	120
Public Night Schools		2
	Pupils	60 Adults.
Colored Children in Catholic Schools		10

Livingstone Institute

Funds	$3,000

Caulkers' Association

Members	9

Business Pursuits

Mechanics, Manufacturers, etc.

Painters	4
House Carpenters	3
Ship Carpenters	2
Caulkers	9
Boot Makers	4
Tailors	3
Brick Layers	2
Plasterers	2
Blacksmiths	4
Hose Makers	1
Segar Makers	2
Tinners	1
Upholsterers	2
Dress Makers	10
Seamstresses	5
Milliners	3
Ladies Hair Dressers	9
Tobacco Manufacturers	4

Soap and Tallow Manufactory 1
Fancy Soap Manufactory. 1
Hair Restorative. 1
Fancy Hair Workers. 2
Laundries 10
Junk Stores 2
Teamsters 20
Real Estate Agents. 2
Barbers . . . . . —

Liberal Professions

Clergymen 10
Editors 2

Total Wealth of City and County, $750,000

SACRAMENTO COUNTY

Number of Adults in City and County 470
Number that can read and write. 375
Number that cannot read or write. 95
Number [of] Children in City and County 150
Number attending school 49
Number not receiving instruction. 101
Sabbath Schools 2, membership of. 44
Eight Teachers. .two Superintendents. 10

A library belonging to each school, consisting of 350 volumes.
Number of Churches. 2
A.M.E. Church, Rev. J. H. Hubbard, Pastor in charge, 32 members.
Baptist connection, Rev. Amos Johnson, 22 members.
Number of Mechanics 18
Farmers 10
Doctor. 1

No. persons in the county supported by the public, or benevolent societies.
Amount of Church and public property belonging to colored residents $4,600
But one colored person in the County Hospital.
Amount of real estate and other property. $137,245
Total amount of property represented by the people of color of this city and county, as far as can be ascertained $141,845

YOLO, COLUSA AND TEHAMA COUNTIES

Made by Basil Campbell

Adults. . . . . 16 Children 5
Total population 21
Number who can read and write 13
Property owned in the county. $17,000
Farmers and Stock-raisers 5
Stock-raisers without farms 4
No school in the county.
As there are no delegates from the adjoining counties, of Colusa and Tehama, I beg leave to report the

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condition of those counties, as far as I am acquainted. In the county of Colusa there are

Adults . . . . . 8 Children 13
Total population. 21
Number who can read and write 5
Property owned in the county. $22,300
Farmers and Stock-raisers 5
Stock-raisers without farms 2
No school in the county.

In the county of Tehama there are,

Adults . . . . . 14 Children. 17
Total population. 31
Number who can read and write 13
Property owned in the county. $29,300
Farmers and Stock-raisers 7
Stock-raisers without farms 2
No school in the county.

Recapitulation of the three counties

Adults . . . . . 38 Children. 35
Total population. 73
Number that can read and write. 35
Property owned $69,300
Farmers and Stock-raisers 17
Stock-raisers without farms 8

EL DORADO COUNTY

Male Adults 190
Female Adults 75
Children. 40

Total 305
Number that can read and write. 223

Occupations

Mechanics 4
Miners. 50
Farmers 14
Hair Dressers 25
Laborers. 40
Aggregate am'nt taxable property, ... $75,000
One Church, owning two lots.
No school in the county.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY

Total population. 175
Real estate and personal property $75,000
One Church, of the Methodist persuasion.

One colored school, sustained by the Common School Fund, P. W. Cassey, teacher. He received for his services $50 per month. In addition to this, P. W. Cassey keeps a boarding-school, which, at the present time, is well patronized. There is an educational institution in

this county, called the "Phoenixonian Institute," which was organized in the year 1862, and is now in a prosperous condition.

Most of the colored people are engaged in agriculture--very few are employed as menials. They are sober, industrious, religious, and plain-dealing people.

SONOMA COUNTY

Adults . . . . . 35 Children 20

Occupations

Farmers. 10
Carpenters 2
Blacksmiths. 2
Barbers. 7
General laborers 12
One church, and one school-house.
Estimated valuation of property. $25,000

REV. P. KELLINGWORTH
Delegate from Sonoma.

NAPA COUNTY

Amt. of property, real and personal, ...$51,000
One school, established by the Board of Education. Owing to the limited amount of money in the School Fund the parents are assessed $1.50 per month for each scholar. In several districts where there are not ten colored children, those that are living in such districts are growing up in ignorance.

There are no colored churches.

WM. H. CHRISTOPHER,
Delegate from Napa.

MARIPOSA COUNTY

Number of Families. 10
Children. 20
Quartz Miners 10
Placer Miners 20
Ranchers. 5
Blacksmiths 2
Barbers 2
Painter 1
Boot-maker. 1
Tailor. 1
Estimated value of property $20,000

M. L. ROGERS,
Delegate from Mariposa.

MERCED COUNTY

There being no delegate from this, the adjoining county, Mr. Rogers made the following report:

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Male Adults	11
Female Adults	8
Children	8

CITY OF MARYSVILLE AND VICINITY
(Comprising part of Yuba County.)

Number of Adults	156
Children under five years of age	24
Children over five years of age	26
Total	206
Estimated wealth	$161,690

Occupations

Barbers	18
Vegetable, fruit and poultry dealers	6
Pork-raisers	7
Soap manufactory	1
Fancy hair-workers	2
Druggist	1
Junk dealer	1
Bath-house keepers	3
Carpenters	7
Engaged in Laundry business	10
Cooks	3
Farmers	25
General jobbers	12
Hostlers	3
Seamstresses	4
Dress-makers	4
Public Porters	11
Miners	12

Number of Churches, 2—both unfinished, though occupied. The Baptist Church is entirely out of debt; the Methodist owes about $400. One Public School; average attendance about 20. Two Sabbath Schools, fair attendance. Mining Companies, 3; in two of which well defined ledges have been struck. The Rare Ripe Company has been incorporated, and about $2,000 has been expended upon it. The highest yield per ton, $25. No work has been done for several months, owing to some of the stock having to pass through administration. Will resume again in a few days. The morals of the people are good. No drinking saloon, billiard saloon, nor gambling dens, in the county. No professional gamblers.

In conclusion, your Committee regret that they have not been able to present a more general report, in consequence of the small number of counties represented in the Convention, and the very short time they had to prepare the report, and the impossibility of procuring, at the present time, sufficient information to enable your Committee to prepare a report based upon the entire colored population of the State. All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. H. Starkey,
Dr. Bryant, Committee.
M. L. Rogers,

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The Secretary said that he wished to give a Homographic Chart of this Convention, and he therefore moved that each delegate be requested to furnish the following information: Time and place of birth, when arrived in this country, present place of residence, and occupation, and social or family condition. Carried.

Mr. R. A. Hall, Chairman of the Committee on Elective Franchise, presented the following

Report of Committee on Elective Franchise

TO THE HONORABLE THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Gentlemen:--The undersigned, citizens of the United States and of the State of California, respectfully present to your honorable bodies, the Senate and House Assembly, this, their petition, and showing for your honorable notice that we are an industrious, moral and law abiding class of citizens, professing an average of education and general intelligence; born upon American soil, and paying taxes yearly upon several MILLION of dollars, and upholding all the institutions of our common country, as recently demonstrated by the employment of two hundred thousand of the negro population in the late great rebellion,--whose courage and loyalty have been testified to by many distinguished commanders, and whose whole record has never been disgraced by a single black traitor. We would most respectfully ask of your honorable bodies, in view of the above multiplied merits, an amendment to the Constitution, so that the same may read as hereinafter set forth, to the end that American citizens of *African* descent, as may have provided to become citizens, may be admitted to the rights of Suffrage and Citizenship of the State of California.

Respectfully submitted,
R. A. Hall,
W. H. Yates,
E. P. Duplex,
J. R. Starkey,
D. W. Ruggles.

CONSTITUTION OF CALIFORNIA

Article II

Section 1:--Every male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State six months next preceding the election, and the county or district in which he claims his vote, thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now, or hereafter may be authorized by law: provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent the Legislature, by a two-thirds concurrent vote, from admitting to the right of suffrage Indians, or the descendants of Indians, in such special cases as such a proportion of the Legislative body may deem just and proper.

The report was read, and on motion to adopt, Mr. Wm. H. Hall delivered the following impressive and eloquent speech:

MR. PRESIDENT:--I have refrained from intruding upon the time of the Convention until now, but the importance of the question presented here for consideration, brings us before the American people of California, to-day to ask their decision upon the great subject of Negro suffrage. It is the most momentous issue ever addressed to public opinion, and embraces the political prospects of all parties, as well as the duration and destiny of our Republican institutions.

Fifteen years ago, when the despotism of slavery was at the height and plenitude of its power, and every interest, social and political, subserved its ends, California, in drafting a Constitution as one of the sovereign States of the Union, decreed that no bondman ever should be held by legal enactment or constitutional law within her limits. In laying down this

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "The Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston [1832], in Lerner, Black Women in White America, 437-439

Suggested Uses: Antebellum reform (how are their goals similar or different from other antebellum reformers?), African-American History (what does this document tell you about the lives of antebellum African-American women?), antebellum women' history

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Poem For Two Voices
2) Biopoem (use it for an organization rather than a person)
3) Comparison to other groups of the time through class discussion and the use of other documents or secondary resources.

Questions:
1) What were the purposes of the organization according to its constitution?
2) What do you think were the ultimate goals of this group?
3) How were these people trying to help themselves?
4) What obstacles do you think these women will face?
5) Take any of the documents in the Assignments section that deal with the black state conventions held during the antebellum period. How do the activities of these women compare to those of the mostly male members of the black state conventions?
6) What relationship, if any, do you think these women have to other 'intelligence societies' in Boston? Would a white female society have the same goals at this time?
7) What do you think is significant about this document?

role both in relief and teaching (see Chapter Two) and continued the work of maintaining schools, churches and orphanages in their own communities. The growth of black urban communities due to migration from the South, the presence of several generations of educated women with some leisure, and the urgent social needs of the poor who depended on private relief gave rise to a national black women's club movement, which harnessed the force of women to national political and economic goals.

Women's clubs sprang up in a number of cities, usually centered around some local welfare or education project. Following a pattern not unlike that of white women, these local clubs began to exchange information and delegates and to form large federations. But the spur for a permanent national organization came from the outside.

In 1895, lynchings in America had begun to arouse censure and protest from abroad. This was largely the result of the untiring campaign of an Afro-American woman, Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, whose speaking tour in Great Britain aroused an international debate over lynching and resulted in the formation of a British anti-lynching society. Rising to the defense of the white South, James Jacks, president of the Missouri Press Association, wrote to the British society in a widely publicized statement that "the Negroes in this country were wholly devoid of morality, the women were prostitutes and all were natural thieves and liars." This statement was the last straw for black club women, who had endured similar slanders in silence. It prompted the convening of the first national conference of colored women, which led to the formation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) in 1896 (see pp. 440–447).

The NACW united the National League of Colored Women, the National Federation of Afro-American Women (both short-lived earlier attempts at federation), and over a hundred local women's organizations. After some rivalry between leaders of the major organizations, it became a unifying force, an authoritative voice in defense of black

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womanhood. It greatly spurred local and regional organization.

At the ninth biennial meeting in 1914, the NACW represented over 50,000 black women in 28 state federations and over a thousand clubs. Its 1968 membership was 170,000. It may be that the rapid proliferation of women's clubs after the formation of the National Association of Colored Women is more apparent than real and due simply to the fact that the NACW kept minutes and records. There is reason to believe that there was an uninterrupted continuity of organization, certainly since the Civil War. But the national federation movement provided encouragement, direction, expert leadership and example. Like the club movement of white women, this movement was led by middle-class women, but unlike white club women, the members of black women's clubs were often working women, tenant farmwives or poor women. Thus, while the Negro women's clubs were equally concerned with education, self-improvement and community improvement, there was always a strong emphasis on race pride, on the defense of the black community and home, and on race advancement. The leadership exerted by black women in the fight against lynching, for equal accommodations on railroads and for integration in community and national organizations is particularly important.

THE AFRIC-AMERICAN FEMALE INTELLIGENCE SOCIETY OF BOSTON

☞ *The Afric-American Female Intelligence Society is typical of early nineteenth century benevolent organizations.*

We are glad to find that Associations, benevolent and literary appear to be multiplying among our colored sisters. We learn

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by the Liberator that one has recently been established at Boston, under the name of The Afric-American Female Intelligence Society. A literary association was also some months since organized by some of the colored females of Philadelphia. We wish them both success and a long career of usefulness.—We hail with delight every intimation that our Afric American sisters are becoming more sensible of the value of mental cultivation, and are exerting themselves to procure it. We have copied the Preamble and such articles of the Constitution of the Boston Society as will best explain their objects and be most useful to those who may wish to imitate them.

CONSTITUTION

Of the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston

PREAMBLE

Whereas the subscribers, women of color of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, actuated by a natural feeling for the welfare of our friends, have thought fit to associate for the diffusion of knowledge, the suppression of vice and immorality, and for cherishing such virtues as will render us happy and useful to society, sensible of the gross ignorance under which we have too long labored, but trusting, by the blessing of God, we shall be able to accomplish the object of our union—we have therefore associated ourselves under the name of the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society, and have adopted the following Constitution.

Art. 1st. The officers of this society shall be a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, and a Board of Directors of five—all of whom shall be annually elected.

Art. 2d. Regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of every month, at which each member shall pay twenty-five cents, and pay twelve and a half cents at every monthly meeting thenceforth.

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Art. 3d. The money thus collected shall be appropriated for the purchasing of books, the hiring of a room and other contingencies. . . .

Art. 11th. All candidates for membership shall be of a good moral character, and shall be elected by a majority of the votes of the Society.

Art. 12th. All members who shall be absent at the regular monthly meetings, shall be fined six and a quarter cents, unless a satisfactory apology can be offered to the Society.

Art. 15th. Any member of this Society, of one year's standing, having regularly paid up her dues, who may be taken sick, shall receive one dollar per week out of the funds of the Society as long as consistent with the means of the institution.

Art. 18th. In case any unforeseen and afflictive event should happen to any of the members, it shall be the duty of the Society to aid them as far as in their power. . . .

BY-LAWS

Art. 1st. Each member who wishes to speak shall rise and address the chair.

Art. 2d. While any member addresses the chair there shall be no interruption.

Art. 3d. If any member becomes sick, it shall be made known to the President, who will instruct the Directors to visit the sick person, and devise means for her relief.

Art. 4th. Twelve members shall constitute a quorum to transact business.

Art. 5th. Any person or persons who shall rashly sacrifice their own health, shall not be entitled to any aid or sympathy from the Society.

Art. 6th. Each meeting of this Society shall begin and end with prayer.

Art. 7th. The Treasurer shall make quarterly reports of the state of the funds.

"Genius of Universal Emancipation" vol. 2, no. 10, 3rd ser. (March, 1832) pp. 162-163

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "The Fish I Didn't Catch," "Respect for the Sabbath Rewarded," "Control Your Temper," "The Best Kind of Revenge," and "The Character of a Happy Life," in McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader, 63-66, 69-71, 204-206, 266-268, 308-309

Suggested Uses: Post Civil War education and social values (what values did American society emphasize as appropriate?)

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Question and Answer
2) Group work, comparing the stories of various ethnic groups and what is emphasized

Questions: 1) What values are these stories trying to promote and encourage?
2) How do these values fit within what are traditionally characterized as American values?
3) Compare the values espoused in these stories and those found in Floyd's Flowers.
What are the similarities in the values of both sets of stories?
What are the differences in the values of both sets of stories?
What are the ultimate goals of the authors of the stories in McGuffey's and Floyd's Flowers?
4) Are the men and women in these stories expected to follow different values?

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X. ROBIN REDBREAST.

William Allingham (*b.* 1828, *d.* 1889) was born at Ballyshannon, Ireland. His father was a banker, and gave him a good education in Irish schools. He showed his literary tastes at an early date, contributing to periodicals, etc. In 1850 he published his first volume of poems: in 1854 his "Day and Night Songs" appeared, and in 1864 a poem in twelve chapters entitled "Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland." His reputation was established chiefly through his shorter lyrics, or ballad poetry. In 1864 he received a literary pension.

1. Good-by, good-by to Summer!
For Summer's nearly done;
The garden smiling faintly,
Cool breezes in the sun;
Our thrushes now are silent,
Our swallows flown away,—
But Robin's here in coat of brown,
And scarlet breastknot gay.
Robin, Robin Redbreast,
O Robin dear!
Robin sings so sweetly
In the falling of the year.

2. Bright yellow, red, and orange,
The leaves come down in hosts;
The trees are Indian princes,
But soon they'll turn to ghosts;
The leathery pears and apples
Hang russet on the bough;
It's autumn, autumn, autumn late,
'Twill soon be winter now.
Robin, Robin Redbreast,
O Robin dear!
And what will this poor Robin do?
For pinching days are near.

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3. The fireside for the cricket,
The wheat stack for the mouse,
When trembling night winds whistle
And moan all round the house.
The frosty ways like iron,
The branches plumed with snow,—
Alas! in winter dead and dark,
Where can poor Robin go?
Robin, Robin Redbreast,
O Robin dear!
And a crumb of bread for Robin,
His little heart to cheer.

NOTE.—The Old World Robin here referred to is quite different in appearance and habits from the American Robin. It is only about half the size of the latter. Its prevailing color above is olive green, while the forehead, cheeks, throat, and breast are a light yellowish red. It does not migrate, but is found at all seasons throughout temperate Europe, Asia Minor, and northern Africa.

XI. THE FISH I DID N'T CATCH.

John Greenleaf Whittier was born near Haverhill, Mass., in 1807, and died at Hampton Falls, N.H., in 1892. His boyhood was passed on a farm, and he never received a classical education. In 1829 he edited a newspaper in Boston. In the following year he removed to Hartford, Conn., to assume a similar position. In 1836 he edited an antislavery paper in Philadelphia. In 1840 he removed to Amesbury, Mass. Mr. Whittier's parents were Friends, and he always held to the same faith. He wrote extensively both in prose and verse. As a poet, he ranked among those most highly esteemed and honored by his countrymen. "Snow Bound" is one of the longest and best of his poems.

1. Our bachelor uncle who lived with us was a quiet, genial man, much given to hunting and fishing; and it was one of the pleasures of our young life to accompany him on his expeditions to Great Hill, Brandy-brow Woods, the

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Pond, and, best of all, to the Country Brook. We were quite willing to work hard in the cornfield or the haying lot to finish the necessary day's labor in season for an afternoon stroll through the woods and along the brook-side.

2. I remember my first fishing excursion as if it were but yesterday. I have been happy many times in my life, but never more intensely so than when I received that first fishing pole from my uncle's hand, and trudged off with him through the woods and meadows. It was a still, sweet day of early summer; the long afternoon shadows of the trees lay cool across our path; the leaves seemed greener, the flowers brighter, the birds merrier, than ever before.

3. My uncle, who knew by long experience where were the best haunts of pickerel, considerately placed me at the most favorable point. I threw out my line as I had so often seen others, and waited anxiously for a bite, moving the bait in rapid jerks on the surface of the water in imitation of the leap of a frog. Nothing came of it. "Try again," said my uncle. Suddenly the bait sank out of sight. "Now for it," thought I; "here is a fish at last."

4. I made a strong pull, and brought up a tangle of weeds. Again and again I cast out my line with aching arms, and drew it back empty. I looked at my uncle appealingly. "Try once more," he said; "we fishermen must have patience."

5. Suddenly something tugged at my line, and swept off with it into deep water. Jerking it up, I saw a fine pickerel wriggling in the sun. "Uncle!" I cried, looking back in uncontrollable excitement, "I've got a fish!" "Not yet," said my uncle. As he spoke there was a plash in the water; I caught the arrowy gleam of a scared fish shooting into the middle of the stream, my hook hung empty from the line. I had lost my prize.

6. We are apt to speak of the sorrows of childhood as trifles in comparison with those of grown-up people; but we may depend upon it the young folks don't agree with us. Our griefs, modified and restrained by reason, ex-

perience, and self-respect, keep the proprieties, and, if possible, avoid a scene; but the sorrow of childhood, unreasoning and all-absorbing, is a complete abandonment to the passion. The doll's nose is broken, and the world breaks up with it; the marble rolls out of sight, and the solid globe rolls off with the marble.

7. So, overcome with my great and bitter disappointment, I sat down on the nearest hassock, and for a time refused to be comforted, even by my uncle's assurance that there were more fish in the brook. He refitted my bait, and, putting the pole again in my hands, told me to try my luck once more.

8. "But remember, boy," he said, with his shrewd smile, "never brag of catching a fish until he is on dry ground. I've seen older folks doing that in more ways than one, and so making fools of themselves. It's no use to boast of anything until it's done, nor then, either, for it speaks for itself."

9. How often since I have been reminded of the fish that I did not catch. When I hear people boasting of a work as yet undone, and trying to anticipate the credit which belongs only to actual achievement, I call to mind that scene by the brookside, and the wise caution of my uncle in that particular instance takes the form of a proverb of universal application: "NEVER BRAG OF YOUR FISH BEFORE YOU CATCH HIM."

DEFINITIONS.—1. Gĕn'ial, *cheerful.* 3. Haunts, *places frequently visited.* Con-sid'er-ate-ly, *with due regard to others, kindly thoughtful.* 4. Ap-pēal'ing-ly, *as though asking for aid.* 6. Mŏd'i-fied, *qualified, lessened.* Pro-pri'e-ties, *fixed customs or rules of conduct.* Ab-sŏrb'ing, *engaging the attention entirely.* 7. Has'sock, *a raised mound of turf.* 9. An-tĭç'i-pate, *to take before the proper time.* A-chieve'ment, *performance, deed.*

XII. IT SNOWS.

Sarah Josepha Hale (b. 1788?, *d.* 1879) was born in Newport, N.H. Her maiden name was Buell. In 1814 she married David Hale, an eminent lawyer, who died in 1822. Left with five children to support, she turned her attention to literature. In 1828 she became editor of the "Ladies' Magazine." In 1837 this periodical was united with "Godey's Lady's Book," of which Mrs. Hale was literary editor for more than forty years.

1. "It snows!" cries the Schoolboy, "Hurrah!" and his shout
Is ringing through parlor and hall,
While swift as the wing of a swallow, he's out,
And his playmates have answered his call;
It makes the heart leap but to witness their joy;
Proud wealth has no pleasures, I trow,
Like the rapture that throbs in the pulse of the boy
As he gathers his treasures of snow;
Then lay not the trappings of gold on thine heirs,
While health and the riches of nature are theirs.

2. "It snows!" sighs the Imbecile, "Ah!" and his breath
Comes heavy, as clogged with a weight;
While, from the pale aspect of nature in death,
He turns to the blaze of his grate;
And nearer and nearer, his soft-cushioned chair
Is wheeled toward the life-giving flame;
He dreads a chill puff of the snow-burdened air,
Lest it wither his delicate frame;
Oh! small is the pleasure existence can give,
When the fear we shall die only proves that we live!

3. "It snows!" cries the Traveler, "Ho!" and the word
Has quickened his steed's lagging pace;
The wind rushes by, but its howl is unheard,
Unfelt the sharp drift in his face;
For bright through the tempest his own home appeared,
Ay, though leagues intervened, he can see:

There's the clear, glowing hearth, and the table prepared,
And his wife with her babes at her knee;
Blest thought! how it lightens the grief-laden hour,
That those we love dearest are safe from its power!

4. "It snows!" cries the Belle, "Dear, how lucky!" and turns
From her mirror to watch the flakes fall,
Like the first rose of summer, her dimpled cheek burns,
While musing on sleigh ride and ball:
There are visions of conquests, of splendor, and mirth,
Floating over each drear winter's day;
But the tintings of Hope, on this storm-beaten earth,
Will melt like the snowflakes away.
Turn, turn thee to Heaven, fair maiden, for bliss;
That world has a pure fount ne'er opened in this.

5. "It snows!" cries the Widow, "O God!" and her sighs
Have stifled the voice of her prayer;
Its burden ye'll read in her tear-swollen eyes,
On her cheek sunk with fasting and care.
'T is night, and her fatherless ask her for bread,
But "He gives the young ravens their food,"
And she trusts till her dark hearth adds horror to dread,
And she lays on her last chip of wood.
Poor sufferer! that sorrow thy God only knows;
'T is a most bitter lot to be poor when it snows.

DEFINITIONS. — 1. Trŏw, *to think, to believe.* Trĭp'pings, *ornaments.* 2. Im'be-çile, *one who is feeble either in body or mind.* 3. Inter-vēned', *were situated between.* 4. Müs'ing, *thinking in an absent-minded way.* Cŏn'quests, *triumphs, successes.* Tint'ings, *slight colorings.* 5. Stī'fled, *choked, suppressed.*

REMARK. — Avoid reading this piece in a monotonous style. Try to express the actual feeling of each quotation; and enter into the descriptions with spirit.

XIII. RESPECT FOR THE SABBATH REWARDED.

1. In the city of Bath, not many years since, lived a barber who made a practice of following his ordinary occupation on the Lord's day. As he was on the way to his morning's employment, he happened to look into some place of worship just as the minister was giving out his text--"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." He listened long enough to be convinced that he was constantly breaking the laws of God and man by shaving and dressing his customers on the Lord's day. He became uneasy, and went with a heavy heart to his Sabbath task.

2. At length he took courage, and opened his mind to his minister, who advised him to give up Sabbath work, and worship God. He replied that beggary would be the consequence. He had a flourishing trade, but it would almost all be lost. At length, after many a sleepless night spent in weeping and praying, he was determined to cast all his care upon God, as the more he reflected, the more his duty became apparent.

3. He discontinued his Sabbath work, went constantly and early to the public services of religion, and soon enjoyed that satisfaction of mind which is one of the rewards of doing our duty, and that peace which the world can neither give nor take away. The consequences he foresaw actually followed. His genteel customers left him, and he was nicknamed "Puritan" or "Methodist." He was obliged to give up his fashionable shop, and, in the course of years, became so reduced as to take a cellar under the old market house and shave the poorer people.

4. One Saturday evening, between light and dark, a stranger from one of the coaches, asking for a barber, was directed by the hostler to the cellar opposite. Coming in hastily, he requested to be shaved quickly, while they changed horses, as he did not like to violate the Sabbath.

This was touching the barber on a tender chord. He burst into tears; asked the stranger to lend him a half-penny to buy a candle, as it was not light enough to shave him with safety. He did so, revolving in his mind the extreme poverty to which the poor man must be reduced.

5. When shaved, he said, "There must be something extraordinary in your history, which I have not now time to hear. Here is half a crown for you. When I return, I will call and investigate your case. What is your name?" "William Reed," said the astonished barber. "William Reed?" echoed the stranger: "William Reed? by your dialect you are from the West." "Yes, sir, from Kingston, near Taunton." "William Reed from Kingston, near Taunton? What was your father's name?" "Thomas." "Had he any brother?" "Yes, sir, one, after whom I was named; but he went to the Indies, and, as we never heard from him, we supposed him to be dead."

6. "Come along, follow me," said the stranger, "I am going to see a person who says his name is William Reed, of Kingston, near Taunton. Come and confront him. If you prove to be indeed he who you say you are, I have glorious news for you. Your uncle is dead, and has left an immense fortune, which I will put you in possession of when all legal doubts are removed."

7. They went by the coach; saw the pretended William Reed, and proved him to be an impostor. The stranger, who was a pious attorney, was soon legally satisfied of the barber's identity, and told him that he had advertised him in vain. Providence had now thrown him in his way in a most extraordinary manner, and he had great pleasure in transferring a great many thousand pounds to a worthy man, the rightful heir of the property. Thus was man's extremity God's opportunity. Had the poor barber possessed one half-penny, or even had credit for a candle, he might have remained unknown for years; but he trusted God, who never said, "Seek ye my face," in vain.

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Definitions.—2. Ap-pär'ent, *clear, plain.* 3. Gen-teel', *fashionable, elegant.* Re-dūçed', *brought to poverty.* 4. Vi'o-lāte, *to break, to profane.* 5. In-vĕs'ti-gāte, *to inquire into with care.* Dī'a-lect, *a local form of speech.* 6. Con-frŏnt', *to face, to stand before.* 7. At-tor'ney (*pro.* at-tūr'nȳ), *a lawyer.* I-dĕn'ti-ty, *the condition of being the same as something claimed.* Trans-fĕr'ring, *making over the possession of.* Ex-trĕm'i-ty, *greatest need.* Op-por-tū'ni-ty, *favorable time.*

XIV. THE SANDS O' DEE.

Charles Kingsley (*b.* 1819, *d.* 1875) was born at Holne, Devonshire, England. He took his bachelor's degree at Cambridge in 1842, and soon after entered the Church. His writings are quite voluminous, including sermons, lectures, novels, fairy tales, and poems, published in book form, besides numerous miscellaneous sermons and magazine articles. He was an earnest worker for bettering the condition of the working classes, and this object was the basis of most of his writings. As a lyric poet he has gained a high place. The "Saint's Tragedy" and "Andromeda" are the most pretentious of his poems, and "Alton Locke" and "Hypatia" are his best known novels.

1. "O Mary, go and call the cattle home,
And call the cattle home,
And call the cattle home,
Across the sands o' Dee!"
The western wind was wild and dank with foam,
And all alone went she.

2. The creeping tide came up along the sand,
And o'er and o'er the sand,
And round and round the sand,
As far as eye could see;
The blinding mist came down and hid the land—
And never home came she.

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poem describes his farewell sermon. At its close he threw off his ministerial gown, and appeared in full regimental dress. Almost every man in the congregation enlisted under him at the church door. Muhlenberg became a well-known general in the Revolution, and after the war served his country in Congress and in various official positions.

LXVI. CONTROL YOUR TEMPER.

John Todd, D.D. (*b.* 1800, *d.* 1873), was born in Rutland, Vt. In 1842 he was settled as a pastor of a Congregational Church, in Pittsfield, Mass. In 1834, he published "Lectures to Children"; in 1835, "The Student's Manual," a valuable and popular work, which has been translated into several European languages; in 1836, "The Sabbath-School Teacher"; and in 1841, "The Lost Sister of Wyoming" He was one of the founders of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

1. No one has a temper naturally so good, that it does not need attention and cultivation, and no one has a temper so bad, but that, by proper culture, it may become pleasant. One of the best disciplined tempers ever seen, was that of a gentleman who was naturally quick, irritable, rash, and violent; but, by having the care of the sick, and especially of deranged people, he so completely mastered himself that he was never known to be thrown off his guard.

2. The difference in the happiness which is received or bestowed by the man who governs his temper, and that by the man who does not, is immense. There is no misery so constant, so distressing, and so intolerable to others, as that of having a disposition which is your master, and which is continually fretting itself. There are corners enough, at every turn in life, against which we may run, and at which we may break out in impatience, if we choose.

3. Look at Roger Sherman, who rose from a humble occupation to a seat in the first Congress of the United States, and whose judgment was received with great defer-

ence by that body of distinguished men. He made himself master of his temper, and cultivated it as a great business in life. There are one or two instances which show this part of his character in a light that is beautiful.

4. One day, after having received his highest honors, he was sitting and reading in his parlor. A roguish student, in a room close by, held a looking-glass in such a position as to pour the reflected rays of the sun directly in Mr. Sherman's face. He moved his chair, and the thing was repeated. A third time the chair was moved, but the looking-glass still reflected the sun in his eyes. He laid aside his book, went to the window, and many witnesses of the impudence expected to hear the ungentlemanly student severely reprimanded. He raised the window gently, and then — shut the window blind!

5. I can not forbear adducing another instance of the power he had acquired over himself. He was naturally possessed of strong passions; but over these he at length obtained an extraordinary control. He became habitually calm, sedate, and self-possessed. Mr. Sherman was one of those men who are not ashamed to maintain the forms of religion in their families. One morning he called them all together, as usual, to lead them in prayer to God; the "old family Bible" was brought out, and laid on the table.

6. Mr. Sherman took his seat, and placed beside him one of his children, a child of his old age; the rest of the family were seated around the room; several of these were now grown up. Besides these, some of the tutors of the college were boarders in the family, and were present at the time alluded to. His aged and superannuated mother occupied a corner of the room, opposite the place where the distinguished judge sat.

7. At length, he opened the Bible, and began to read. The child who was seated beside him made some little disturbance, upon which Mr. Sherman paused and told it to be still. Again he proceeded; but again he paused to

reprimand the little offender, whose playful disposition would scarcely permit it to be still. And this time he gently tapped its ear. The blow, if blow it might be called, caught the attention of his aged mother, who now, with some effort, rose from the seat, and tottered across the room. At length she reached the chair of Mr. Sherman, and, in a moment, most unexpectedly to him, she gave him a blow on the ear with all the force she could summon. "There," said she, "you strike your child, and I will strike mine."

8. For a moment, the blood was seen mounting to the face of Mr. Sherman; but it was only for a moment, when all was calm and mild as usual. He paused; he raised his spectacles; he cast his eye upon his mother; again it fell upon the book from which he had been reading. Not a word escaped him; but again he calmly pursued the service, and soon after sought in prayer an ability to set an example before his household which would be worthy of their imitation. Such a victory was worth more than the proudest one ever achieved on the field of battle.

DEFINITIONS. — 1. Con-trōl', *subdue, restrain, govern.* Cŭl'ture, *cultivation, improvement by effort.* Dis'çi-plined, *brought under control, trained* 2. In-tōl'er-a-ble, *not capable of being borne.* 3. Dĕf'er-ençe, *regard, respect.* 4. Rĕp'ri-mănd-ed, *reproved for a fault.* 6. Sū-per-ăn'nu-ā-ted, *impaired by old age and infirmity.* 8. A-chĭēv'd', *gained.*

NOTE. — *Roger Sherman* (*b.* 1721, *d.* 1793) was born at Newton, Massachusetts, and until twenty-two years of age was a shoemaker. He then removed to New Milford, Connecticut, and was soon afterward appointed surveyor of lands for the county. In 1754, he was admitted to the bar. At various times he was elected a judge; sent to the Legislature, to the Colonial Assembly, and to the United States Congress; made a member of the governor's council of safety; and, in 1776, a member of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence, of which he was one of the signers.

LXVII. WILLIAM TELL.

James Sheridan Knowles (*b.* 1784, *d.* 1862), a dramatist and actor, was born in Cork, Ireland. In 1792 his father removed to London with his family. At the age of fourteen, Sheridan wrote an opera called "The Chevalier de Grillon." In 1798 he removed to Dublin, and soon after began his career as an actor and author. In 1838 he visited America. In 1839 an annual pension of £200 was granted him by the British government. Several years before his death he left the stage and became a Baptist minister. The best known of his plays are "Caius Gracchus," "Virginius," "Leo, the Gypsy," "The Hunchback," and "William Tell," from the last of which the following two lessons are abridged.

SCENE 1. — *A Chamber in the Castle. Enter Gesler, Officers, and Sarnem, with Tell in chains and guarded.*

Sar. Down, slave! Behold the governor.
Down! down! and beg for mercy.
Ges. (*Seated.*) Does he hear?
Sar. He does, but braves thy power.
Officer. Why don't you smite him for that look?
Ges. Can I believe
My eyes? He smiles! Nay, grasps
His chains as he would make a weapon of them
To lay the smiter dead. (*To Tell.*)
Why speakest thou not?
Tell. For wonder.
Ges. Wonder?
Tell. Yes, that thou shouldst seem a man.
Ges. What should I seem?
Tell. A monster.
Ges. Ha! Beware! Think on thy chains.
Tell. Though they were doubled, and did weigh me down
Prostrate to the earth, methinks I could rise up
Erect, with nothing but the honest pride
Of telling thee, usurper, to thy teeth,
Thou art a monster! Think upon my chains?
How came they on me?

8. I laughed outright. I enjoyed the turtle a thousand times more than I should have done if I had eaten the whole of it. But I was forced to restrain my mirth, for the next moment the steward ran upon deck, followed by the captain, in a furious rage, threatening if he caught him to throw him overboard. Not a spoonful of the soup had been left in the coppers, for the steward had taken it all away at once to keep it warm. In about an hour afterwards the passengers came upon deck, looking more sober than I had seen them since we left Liverpool. They had dined upon cold ham.

DEFINITIONS.—1. Re-sĕrved', *kept back, retained.* 2. Lick'erish, *eager or greedy to swallow.* Aft, *toward the stern of a vessel.* Pro-spĕc'tive, *relating to the future.* Fōrçe'mēat, *meat chopped fine and highly seasoned.* Ūne'tu-oūs, *fat.* 5. Glăz'ing, *glass or glass-like substance.* Bin'na-cle, *a box containing the compass of a ship.* 6. Gāl'ley, *the kitchen of a ship.* 7. Tu-reen', *a large deep vessel for holding soup.* Găng'wāy, *a passageway.* Lee, *pertaining to the side opposite that against which the wind blows.* Scūp'pers, *channels cut through the side of a ship for carrying off water from the deck.* 8. Cōp'pers, *large copper boilers.*

NOTE.—6. *Four bells; i.e.*, two o'clock.

LXXXV. THE BEST KIND OF REVENGE.

1. SOME years ago a warehouseman in Manchester, England, published a scurrilous pamphlet, in which he endeavored to hold up the house of Grant Brothers to ridicule. William Grant remarked upon the occurrence that the man would live to repent of what he had done; and this was conveyed by some talebearer to the libeler, who said, "Oh, I suppose he thinks I shall some time or other be in his debt; but I will take good care of that." It happens,

however, that a man in business can not always choose who shall be his creditors. The pamphleteer became a bankrupt, and the brothers held an acceptance of his which had been indorsed to them by the drawer, who had also become a bankrupt.

2. The wantonly libeled men had thus become creditors of the libeler! They now had it in their power to make him repent of his audacity. He could not obtain his certificate without their signature, and without it he could not enter into business again. He had obtained the number of signatures required by the bankrupt law except one. It seemed folly to hope that the firm of "the brothers" would supply the deficiency. What! they who had cruelly been made the laughingstock of the public, forget the wrong and favor the wrongdoer? He despaired. But the claims of a wife and children forced him at last to make the application. Humbled by misery, he presented himself at the countinghouse of the wronged.

3. Mr. William Grant was there alone, and his first words to the delinquent were, "Shut the door, sir!" sternly uttered. The door was shut, and the libeler stood trembling before the libeled. He told his tale and produced his certificate, which was instantly clutched by the injured merchant. "You wrote a pamphlet against us once!" exclaimed Mr. Grant. The suppliant expected to see his parchment thrown into the fire. But this was not its destination. Mr. Grant took a pen, and writing something upon the document, handed it back to the bankrupt. He, poor wretch, expected to see "rogue, scoundrel, libeler," inscribed; but there was, in fair round characters, the signature of the firm.

4. "We make it a rule," said Mr. Grant, "never to refuse signing the certificate of an honest tradesman, and we have never heard that you were anything else." The tears started into the poor man's eyes. "Ah," said Mr. Grant, "my saying was true! I said you would live to

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repent writing that pamphlet. I did not mean it as a threat. I only meant that some day you would know us better, and be sorry you had tried to injure us. I see you repent of it now." "I do, I do!" said the grateful man; "I bitterly repent it." "Well, well, my dear fellow, you know us now. How do you get on? What are you going to do?" The poor man stated he had friends who could assist him when his certificate was obtained. "But how are you off in the meantime?"

5. And the answer was, that, having given up every farthing to his creditors, he had been compelled to stint his family of even common necessaries, that he might be enabled to pay the cost of his certificate. "My dear fellow, this will not do; your family must not suffer. Be kind enough to take this ten-pound note to your wife from me. There, there, my dear fellow! Nay, do not cry; it will all be well with you yet. Keep up your spirits, set to work like a man, and you will raise your head among us yet." The overpowered man endeavored in vain to express his thanks; the swelling in his throat forbade words. He put his handkerchief to his face and went out of the door, crying like a child.

DEFINITIONS. — 1. Wâre'house-man (English usage), *one who keeps a wholesale store for woolen goods.* Scûr'ril-oûs, *low, mean.* Li'bel-er, *one who defames another maliciously by a writing, etc* 2. Au-dăç'i-ty, *bold impudence.* Sĭg'na-ture, *the name of a person written with his own hand, the name of a firm signed officially.* De-fĭ'cien-cy, *want.* 3. De-lĭn'quent, *an offender.* Pûrch'ment, *sheep or goat skin prepared for writing upon.* 5. Stint, *to limit.*

NOTE. — 1. *Acceptance.* When a person upon whom a draft has been made, writes his name across the face of it, the draft then becomes "an acceptance." The person who makes the draft is called "the drawer;" the person to whom the money is ordered paid writes his name on the back of the draft and is called "an indorser." Paper of this kind frequently passes from hand to hand, so that there are several indorsers.

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LXXXVI. THE SOLDIER OF THE RHINE.

Caroline Elizabeth Sarah Norton (*b.* 1808, *d.* 1877) was the granddaughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. She wrote verses and plays at a very early age. "The Sorrows of Rosalie," published in 1829, was written before she was seventeen years old. In 1827, she was married to the Hon. George Chapple Norton. The marriage was an unhappy one, and they were divorced in 1836. Her principal works are "The Undying One," "The Dream, and Other Poems," "The Child of the Islands," "Stuart of Dunleith, a Romance," and "English Laws for English Women of the 19th Century." She contributed extensively to the magazines and other periodicals.

1. A Soldier of the Legion lay dying in Algiers,
There was lack of woman's nursing, there was dearth of woman's tears;
But a comrade stood beside him, while his lifeblood ebbed away,
And bent, with pitying glances, to hear what he might say.
The dying soldier faltered, as he took that comrade's hand,
And he said: "I nevermore shall see my own, my native land;
Take a message and a token to some distant friends of mine,
For I was born at Bingen, — at Bingen on the Rhine.

2. "Tell my brothers and companions, when they meet and crowd around
To hear my mournful story in the pleasant vineyard ground,
That we fought the battle bravely, and when the day was done,
Full many a corse lay ghastly pale beneath the setting sun;
And, 'mid the dead and dying, were some grown old in wars, —
The death wound on their gallant breasts, the last of many scars;
But some were young, and suddenly beheld life's morn decline, —
And one had come from Bingen, — fair Bingen on the Rhine.

3. "Tell my mother that her other sons shall comfort her old age,
For I was aye a truant bird, that thought his home a cage.
For my father was a soldier, and, even when a child,
My heart leaped forth to hear him tell of struggles fierce and wild;

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CII. THE CHARACTER OF A HAPPY LIFE.

Sir Henry Wotton (*b.* 1568, *d.* 1639) was born at Bocton Hall, Kent, England. He was educated at Winchester and Oxford. About 1598 he was taken into the service of the Earl of Essex, as one of his secretaries. On the Earl's committal to the Tower for treason, Wotton fled to France; but he returned to England immediately after the death of Elizabeth, and received the honor of knighthood. He was King James's favorite diplomatist, and, in 1623, was appointed provost of Eton College. Wotton wrote a number of prose works; but his literary reputation rests mainly on some short poems, which are distinguished by a dignity of thought and expression rarely excelled.

1. How happy is he born and taught,
That serveth not another's will;
Whose armor is his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill!

2. Whose passions not his masters are,
Whose soul is still prepared for death,
Untied unto the worldly care
Of public fame, or private breath;

3. Who envies none that chance doth raise,
Or vice; who never understood
How deepest wounds are given by praise;
Nor rules of state, but rules of good:

4. Who hath his life from rumors freed,
Whose conscience is his strong retreat;
Whose state can neither flatterers feed,
Nor ruin make oppressors great;

5. Who God doth late and early pray,
More of his grace than gifts to lend;
And entertains the harmless day
With a religious book or friend

6. This man is freed from servile bands,
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall;
Lord of himself, though not of lands;
And having nothing, yet hath all.

CIII. THE ART OF DISCOURAGEMENT.

Arthur Helps (b. 1813, d. 1875) graduated at Cambridge, England, in 1835. His best known works are: "Friends in Council, a Series of Readings and Discourses," "Companions of my Solitude," and "Realmah," a tale of the "lake dwellers" in southern Europe. He has also written a "History of the Spanish Conquests in America," two historical dramas, and several other works. Mr. Helps was a true thinker, and his writings are deservedly popular with thoughtful readers. In 1839 he was appointed secretary of the privy council.

1. Regarding, one day, in company with a humorous friend, a noble vessel of a somewhat novel construction sailing slowly out of port, he observed, "What a quantity of cold water somebody must have had down his back." In my innocence, I supposed that he alluded to the wet work of the artisans who had been building the vessel; but when I came to know him better, I found that this was the form of comment he always indulged in when contemplating any new and great work, and that his "somebody" was the designer of the vessel.

2. My friend had carefully studied the art of discouragement, and there was a class of men whom he designated simply as "cold-water pourers." It was most amusing to hear him describe the lengthened sufferings of the man who first designed a wheel; of him who first built a boat; of the adventurous personage who first proposed the daring enterprise of using buttons, instead of fish bones, to fasten the scanty raiment of some savage tribe.

3. Warming with his theme, he would become quite eloquent in describing the long career of discouragement which

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: Various letters on the African-American desire for education at the time of Reconstruction, from Berlin, Free At Last, 212-213, 486-487, 518-519, and two drawings from *Harper's Weekly*, 23 June 1866 and 15 December 1866, and "They Would Not Let Us have Schools," in Lerner, Black Women in White America, 112-113

Suggested Uses: Antebellum reform (use in conjunction with "Report on Education" from the New York black state convention on July, 1851 which is in the Assignments section of this project), Reconstruction (goals of African-Americans after emancipation), African-American History (use in conjunction with the writings of Washington and DuBois on education)

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Question and answer with questions below
2) Choral reading exercise
3) Compare New York convention report with working class demands for educational reform during the Jacksonian era
4) Using all of the information in the Sources, construct a thesis with evidence about the African-American attitudes toward education in the years before and after the Civil War
5) Biopoem with any of the letters or "They Would Not Let Us Have Schools."

Questions:
1) What specific evidence can you find in the documents that indicates the importance of education to African-Americans?
2) Examine all of the documents. For what reasons did African-Americans stress the importance of education?
3) As you examine these documents, what indicates that Africa-Americans were working to better themselves through their own efforts?
4) Compare "They Would Not Let Us Have Schools" with Ida Wells-Barnett's "Red Record" which is in the Assignments section of this project. why are blacks being terrorized?

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3. That we feel ourselves to be weak, needing help; and we earnestly ask of our white friends to give us their aid in our distress, and to show not only in private, but in public, that they have feeling hearts and willing hands.

6. That we believe that public opinion is the bulwark of all law, and that this ODIOUS AND CRUEL LAW will be entirely inoperative, if the moral sense of this community speaks; and therefore we ask of this community; with the voice of our oppressed people, that they will give such an expression of their sentiments respecting this law as will protect this place from the cries and tears of his victims.

7. That we are fully determined, here in our places, to wait the issue; to rest our cause upon God, upon the friends of religion and humanity, and upon our own manhood; to bear ourselves so as to prove that we are worthy, not only of liberty, but of the full privileges of citizens, some of which are now denied us; and to surrender life rather than to be taken into slavery.

8. *Resolved*, That the fugitive slave law is the law of tyrants.

9. *Resolved*, That disobedience to tyrants is obedience to God.

10. *Resolved*, That we will obey God.

Amos Gerry Beman,
John Nelson Still,
J. P. Johnson,
Committee.

Report of the Committee on Education

Your committee cannot hope to embrace in this report, suggestions that will meet every case connected with the subject of Education; we can only deal with general principles.

First, in order that the general welfare of the *colored* people be improved--that the influence of vice and immorality be overcome--that they may become elevated from that condition of *self*-degradation in which ignorance and vice has engulphed a large proportion of the race, it's all important that they become educated; without education we cannot hope to be emancipated from the bondage of involuntary degradation, which we are placed under by the cruel and malicious system of prejudice and caste. By education must be effected the full developments of those hidden and important truths, which when brought to bear upon the hearts and consciences of mankind, shine forth in the beauty of their nature and illumine their minds, to the end that all members of the great human family shall have accorded to them their full and complete rank as such, regardless of any outward circumstances as denote birth or country.

Education here must be considered intellectually, morally and physically. There can be no harmonious development of character where attention is given only to the growth and strengthening of particular divisions of capacity, without reference to the entire man. A system of discipline which tends simply to improve the physical nature, or even the physical and moral without regard to the intellectual, produces at best but gigantic strength, the lowest type of man's excellency. And a superstitious religion is always debasing and even dangerous in proportion as it is removed from the light of reason and mental culture. This is not more philosophically true, than proven in the general history of the human race.

Education then, properly understood, has to do with all the laws and principles that regulate our progress in this life, and only answers its legitimate duty when it seeks to elevate, to liberalise, to christianise. To this end, it gives to its subjects a clearer vision and a greater power to bring out hidden virtues and to combat those errors and prejudices that only live as they are able to pervert men's minds and to make them low and groveling.

These truths are clearly seen in the facts that surround us on every side, in the great struggle now being waged between the oppressor and the oppressed. In the community about us, we are realizing daily the bitter evidence, that an education given in a one-sided direction, and continued for a series of years from father to child, grows up into a system all powerful in the accomplishment of its ends, and subduing to its aims well nigh every mind that receives it. Dictated by that self-love that delights to claim superiority and to exercise rule, we see the social and school education of the

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land fattening upon the hideous error that God has created a noble and an ignoble race, and that by virtue of this he has given a right to the strong to tyrannize over the weak—to load his body with chains and shut him up from the revelations of light and love guaranteed to him in the very ground work of his being.

The history of slavery and caste in this country is so palpable that it needs no recapitulation here. It is a history written in blood and black with enormities and crimes. That it owes its origin and continuance to misdirected views is made evident in the fact that where a different system of culture has been adopted, the so-called antagonistic races have grown up in terms of amity, and have moved on an equal platform, basking under a common civilization, and reaching out to a common destiny.

The fact made glaring by the education adopted, that there is a vast disparity in the standard of culture of the two classes involved in the argument, has been made a justifying cause for tyrannizing over those whose only crime has been, that where no food has been given them, they have not grown fat, and where light has been shut from them, their sight has become dim and obscure.

Time, therefore, having sanctioned the erroneous doctrine that because there is a difference in development, the truth is evident that there is a difference in capacity. It rests with us to counteract the perverted teachings of the land, by filling up as soon as possible the chasm of mind that has separated us, and to bring to our mental storehouse those rich freights of thought and intelligence that really make eminent any people, and the want of which makes us yield too readily to such influences as cause us to remain the vassals and slaves of a more powerful clan, and pliant subjects to a system of education highly improper of itself, and which serves to render us less fitted to appreciate the advantages of a true system, and makes us willing instruments to embarrass and postpone the prospects of securing such as is proper.

The system of education most conducive to our advancement seems to be that which will most readily annihilate in us that weakening acknowledgement, that our means of elevation are to be ever distinct and separate from those educational appliances that end so rapidly to push onward the great American people. In other words, we must partake, as far as is practicable, in the advantages of those literary and religious institutions, where common rights are respected, and where manhood is acknowledged as an equal inheritance! Schools established by caste, while they may not be contemned where better reliances are not to be had, are depressing in their influences, and unfitted to prepare our children to assume an equality of position in the after severe lessons of life. We never may expect to claim, or our opponents to grant, full freedom in carrying out the great aims of life, where we are educated in acknowledgment of the fitness of that spirit of colonization that shuts us out from enjoying the advantages of the better schools of the land. This being our conviction, let us give good attention to securing for our children a liberal education, remaining steadfast in the determination to unceasing efforts to uproot the evil of proscription on account of color, wherever it is to be met with, either in school houses or in churches, ever maintaining perseverance in the right direction, and a dignity of demeanor that will characterize us as a people knowing our rights, willing to assert them, and to make sacrifices of present convenience to the end of securing their permanent possession.

In addition your committee recommend the passage of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the character of Central College, in its principles, its ability and appointments, is such as we can cheerfully recommend to the support of the colored people.

Resolved, That the renewed evidence of firm adherence to the principle of the universal brotherhood of man, as given by the noble position maintained by that institution of learning known as "Central College," at McGrawville, Cortland county, which institution spurned the bribe held out to it by way of pecuniary aid from the State, on condition of the departure from its princi-

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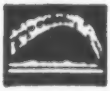
FREE AT LAST

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF SLAVERY, FREEDOM, AND THE CIVIL WAR

IRA BERLIN
BARBARA J. FIELDS
STEVEN F. MILLER
JOSEPH P. REIDY
LEslIE S. ROWLAND



THE NEW PRESS · NEW YORK
MCMXCII.

Education provided a means to escape being "Troden Down under foot of man." In a letter to an official of the Freedmen's Bureau, a federal agency established in March 1865 to oversee the transition from slavery to freedom, a black sergeant from Kentucky emphasized the importance of education to his people.

Nashville Tenn October 8th 1865

Sir I have the honor to call your attention To the neccesity of having a school for The benefit of our regement We have never Had an institutiong of that sort and we Stand deeply inneed of instruction the majority of us having been slaves We Wish to have some benefit of education To make of ourselves capable of buisness In the future We have estableshed a literary Association which flouriahed previous to our March to Nashville We wish to become a People capable of self support as we are Capable of being soldiers my home is in Kentucky Where Prejudice reigns like the Mountain Oak and I do lack that cultivation of mind that would have an attendency To cast a cloud over my future life after have been in the United States service I had a leave of abscence a few weeks a go on A furlough and it made my heart ache to see my race of people there neglected And ill treated on the account of the lack of Education being incapable of putting Thier complaints or applications in writing For the want of Education totally ignorant Of the Great Good Workings of the Government in our behalf We as soldiers Have our officers Who are our protection To teach how us to act and to do But Sir What we want is a general system of education In our regiment for our moral and literary elevation these being our motives We have the Honor of calling your very high Consideration Respectfully Submitted as Your Most humble servt

ALS John Sweeny[88]

Sweeny's request fell on receptive ears. The letter is endorsed: "Will send Teacher as soon as possible."[56]

Black soldiers demonstrated an interest in education not only within their own ranks, but also in the communities where they served. When former slaves in a northeastern Mississippi town sought to establish a school, they enlisted the aid of two noncommissioned officers.

Okolona Miss Oct 25 1865,

〈Regtl Orders No 137 Sergt Eli Helen and Corporal Joseph Ingram Co K having been selected by the Colored Citizens of Okolona and vicinity as collecting agents for the fund to establish a school for colored children, are hereby granted permission to visit Okolona in the execution of their duties as such

This order to continue in force during their good behavior By order of Col John S Bishop[57]〉

HD

Former slaveholders despised black soldiers for the same reason that former slaves welcomed them. To men and women who had owned slaves, armed black men in positions of authority embodied the world turned upside down. Soldiers defending freedpeople or even advising them of their rights appeared to former slaveholders as dangerous provocateurs. A Mississippi planter warned three state legislators of the disaster that loomed unless the "Negro Soldiery" was removed.

Panola [*Miss.*]. Oct 22d, 1865

Gentlemen. I wish to call your attention to a serious & growing evil, with the hope that you will give it your earliest attention, that something

cervisenes any longer into U.S. servise I am willing to act in any capasity your honor may see fit to have me to perform Very Respectfully Your obt servt

AIA Warren D. Hamelton[36]

Private Samuel Roosa, a black soldier from New York who was completing a sentence in military prison, appealed to President Lincoln on behalf of Private Jack Morris, who had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment, without pay, for leaving his post and stealing a can of fruit. Emphasizing Morris's long and faithful service and the burden that his sentence placed upon his family, Roosa argued that Morris's illiteracy and his ignorance of written regulations—circumstances attributable to his prior condition as a slave—should have been considered at his trial.

Fort Jefferson Turtugas Fla. Jenuary 24th 1864 [*1865*]

Sir I have the honor to respectfully call your attention to a few remarks which I hope may receive your libral consideration.

I am a prisener here at fort Jefferson turtugas fla. I was sentence here for the short period of six months I will not mention the injustice I received at the discretion of my court martrial. for I have but such short period to remain here that I deem it hardly neseesary to enter into the merits of the case. but I shall speek inbehalf of a great number of poor but patriocic colored soldirees who have become victoms to a cruel ponishment for little arror. I will attemp to state in bref the circumstences connected with the case of Jack Morris of Co. "F" 73th U.S. Colored Infy. who enterd the U.S. servise on the 27th day Sept 1862 and was errested on the 27th day of June 1864. and sentened. on about

the 20th day October 1864 at Morganza. having served some two years allmost fathfully without even as much as being once ponish in the lease. He was trie and held to answer the charge of leveing his post he had often been told by his officers he said not to leve his post the consequence of which he know not he having call siveral times for the corporal of the guard but without responce with respects to you sir It being case of necesity he thought that it would not be a killing circumstance as much as he did not go out sight and hearing of his post he was absent but five minits and when he returned the corpral ask him where he had been he told him after which he was poot immediately under arrest. and received a sentence of two years hard labor at this post he is a man of famely and has not had no pay sinc he has been in servise but once and then he received but few months pay at seven dollars per month which of couse couldnot efford his famely much releaf. (I am well awere that every breach of military regulations which officers or soldiers are guilty of is ponishable at the discretion of a propper court martrial but I do say and appeal to your honor that there aut to be a liberal consideration and allowance made for ignorence the person refered to enfect most all of the colored troop recruted in this department with few exceptiion are egnorent men who know nothing more then the duties of hard labor and as slaves was held for that , perpose and where not permtted to even as much as hendle there masters book. much less having the privelage of reading or even allow the use of a small elementry speling book and of corse are as total egnorent of the regulations as a poor while efrican is of gramer or elgebra. I appeal to your honor and most respectfuly request in the name of him who has at his command the destination of all nations that his sentence may be repreved.) he says he dont mind the ponishment that he is receiving here but he would like to be where his servisces may

Houston had submitted a claim for $562.50, but the commissioners rejected his contention that he had owned the wood. Instead, they maintained, he had "[d]oubtless" been a wage laborer, whose "interest" in the wood was "about $1.00 per cord." He was awarded $125.[20]

Former slaves living within Union lines were subject to military restrictions, and official orders could have a profound effect on their daily lives. Louisa Jane Barker, the wife of a Northern chaplain, described the fate of a small settlement of black families that had received an officer's permission to locate between Fort Albany, in northern Virginia, and a nearby contraband camp. Relying on his assurances, the freedpeople built houses, supported themselves, and planned for the future. But an order from higher authority dashed their hopes.

[*Washington, D.C.? January? 186*]

Mrs Louisa Jane Barker (wife of Chaplain Barker (1st Mass Heavy Artillery

I know the spot of ground which was assigned by Lieut Shepard to the colord people to build their cottages upon. A little village had collected there. I made frequent visits among them to ascertain their wants, plans occupations &c Their freedom had been taken mostly under the Presidents [*Emancipation*] proclamation of January 1st 1863 Since that time they had not only supported themselves, and their families, but saved money enough to build the little shanties they then occupied. They expressed great reluctance to enter the contraband camp, because they felt more independent in supporting themselves, and families, after the manner of white laborers.

I think they were proud of their past success— The first help they

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required was education— Every head of a family eagerly entered into my proposition to start a school for their children They gave their names to be responsible for tuition at any rate I might decide upon to be paid monthly— A well educated mulatto woman engaged to take the school as soon as a building could be procured I interested some gentlemen of Boston in my plan, and had obtained the promise of a contribution of a part, if not the whole of a school house, when the whole project was thwarted by a sudden order for a second removal of this village outside of the Rifle pits or into the Contraband Camp. This order created great unhappiness amongst them—>

I enquired of the most intelligent negro whether any complaint had been made to him as to the new settlement— He had not heard of any just ground of complaint from any one— several groundless complaints had been mad: there was no truth in them.

About ten days after this conversation a body of soldiers entered the village claiming to have been sent by Genl Augur with peremptory orders "to clear out this village." This order was executed so literally that even a dying child was ordered out of the house— The grandmother who had taken care of it since its mothers death begged leave to stay until the child died, but she was refused

The men who were absent at work, came home at night to find empty houses, and their families gone, they knew not whither!— Some of them came to Lieut Shepard to enquire for their lost wives and children—

In tears and indignation they protested against a tyranny worse than their past experiences of slavery— One man said "I am going back to my old master— I never saw hard times till since I called myself a freeman—

I have never seen any of the sixteen families composing this

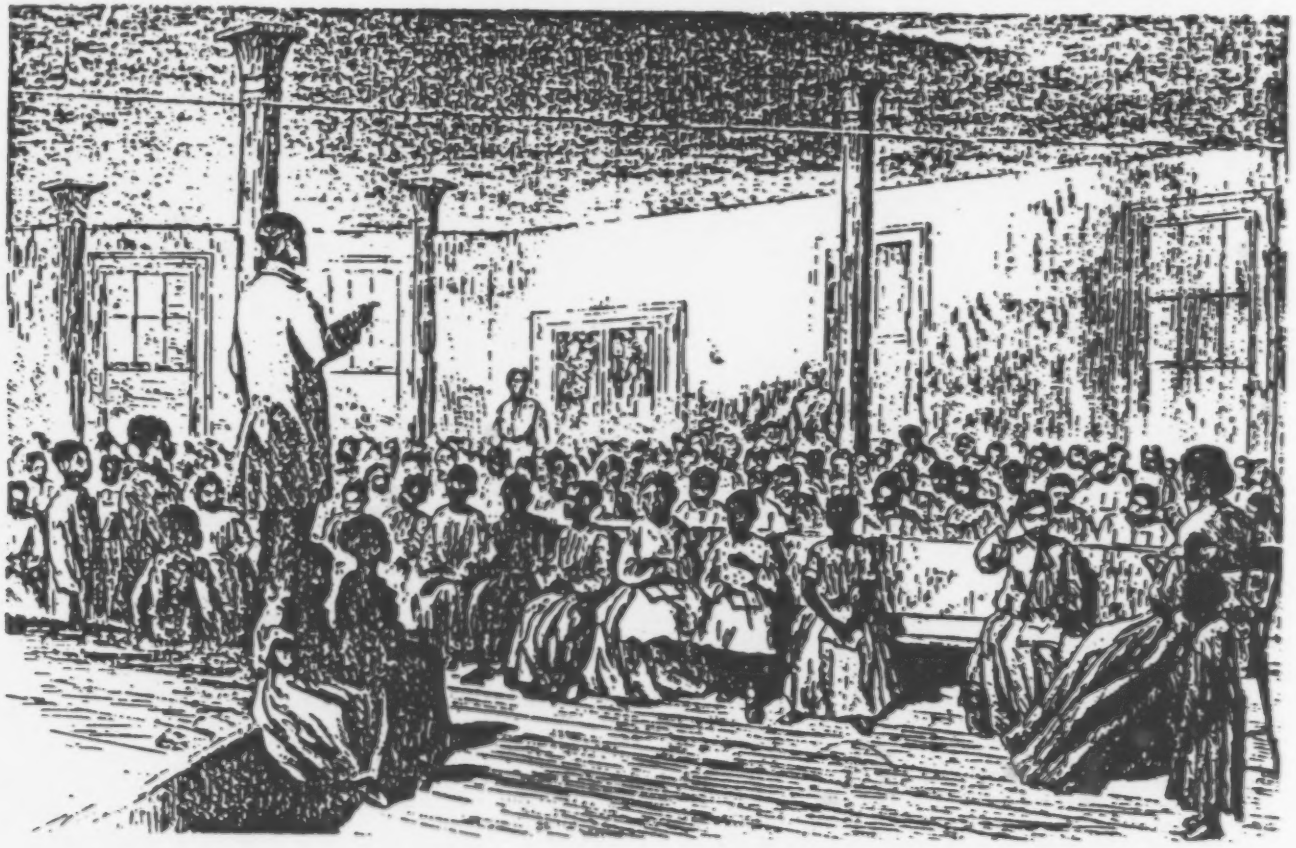

Fig. 4–15. *"Zion" School for Colored Children, Charleston, South Carolina, 1866.*

HARPER'S WEEKLY, 15 DEC. 1866

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Fig. 4–16. *Primary School for Freedmen, in Charge of Mrs. Green, at Vicksburg, Mississippi, 1866.*

HARPER'S WEEKLY, 23 JUNE 1866

LERNER, BLACK WOMEN IN WH

THEY WOULD NOT LET US HAVE SCHOOLS

The violence which marked the overthrow of the Reconstruction governments fell with particular fury on teachers and supporters of black schools. The events described in the following testimony, given before a congressional committee investigating the Ku Klux Klan, typified what happened in many counties and states of the South.

Atlanta, Georgia, October 21, 1871

WITNESS: Caroline Smith (age: 35)

QUESTION: What did you leave home for?

ANSWER: The Ku-Klux came there. . . .

QUESTION: How many were there?

ANSWER: A great many of them, twenty-five or thirty, perhaps more; but ten of them whipped me.

QUESTION: When was that?

ANSWER: Late in the night; I don't know what time. I sat up very late that night, for they had been there once before, and we never laid down early in the night all of us; some of us sat up the better part of the night. I was pretty nigh asleep when I heard them coming.

QUESTION: How were they dressed?

ANSWER: They had on pants like anybody else, but they were put on their body like they made children's clothes. They had on some kind of false face. . . . They caught my husband and beat him as much as they wanted to, and then they came in and said, "Who is this?" I said, "Caroline." He said, "H'm, h'm, come out of here." I went out and they made me get down on my knees. . . . Felker then said, "Take off this," pointing to my dress, "and fasten it around you." They then made me

fasten it to my waist. He whipped me some; and then he made me take my body off, which I wore under my dress. He gave me fifty more, and then said, "Go and get some water, and don't let's hear any big talk from you, and don't sass any white ladies." I said, "I don't do that. . . ."

QUESTION: You say they made a general scattering of the darkies in March?

ANSWER: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: What reason did they give for that?

ANSWER: They said we should not have any schools; and that white people should not countenance us, and they intended to whip the last one; that is what they said.

QUESTION: Why did they not want you to have schools?

ANSWER: They would not let us have schools. They went to a colored man there, whose son had been teaching school, and they took every book they had and threw them into the fire; and they said they would dare any other nigger to have a book in his house. We allowed last fall that we would have a school-house in every district; and the colored men started them. But the Ku-Klux said they would whip every man who sent a scholar there. There is a school-house there, but no scholars. The colored people dare not dress up themselves and fix up, like they thought anything of themselves, for fear they would whip us. I have been humble and obedient to them, a heap more so than I was to my master, who raised me; and that is the way they serve us.

Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States. 42nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872). Vol. 6, pp. 400–403.

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ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "A Red Record," Ida B. Wells-Barnett, in Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America: A Documentary History (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 196-205

Suggested Uses: Early Civil Rights Movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (compare Wells-Barnett to the *Plessy* case and the NAACP), Progressive Era (comapre Wells-Barnett to other women activists), Women's History, African- American History

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Biopoem
2) Poem For Two Voices
3) Role Play
4) Discussion- question and answer with students

Questions: 1) Based on the introduction to the document, how did Ida Wells-Barnett's life reflect traditional values about women as well as departing from those accepted roles?
2) How did Wells-Barnett attack lynching?
3) How does Wells-Barnett challenge southern justifications for lynching?
4) Why would Wells-Barnett observations make her life difficult in the South?
5) How are her views on the plight of African-Americans similar to and different from the views of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, and Bishop Henry Turner (see selection about Turner in this project)?
6) How could the problem of lynching be solved according to Wells-Barnett?
7) How do the activities of Wells-Barnett compare to those of other reformers during the Progressive Era?
8) What do the figures Wells-Barnett supplies for lynching versus legal executions in 1894 (197: 132) say about American attitudes toward the law in the South and the United States in the 1890's?

A RED RECORD

IDA B. WELLS BARNETT

Ida B. Wells Barnett (1862–1931) was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, the eldest child of slave parents. She was educated at Rust College. When she was fifteen years old, her parents and a brother died in a yellow fever epidemic. She concealed her age, secured a position teaching school, and became the support and substitute parent for her five surviving brothers and sisters. In 1884 she moved to Memphis, Tennessee, where she worked as a schoolteacher and continued her education by attending classes at Fisk University. During this time she began to write articles for black newspapers under the pen name "Iola." In retribution for her exposure of the inadequate school facilities for black children, she was fired from her job in 1891. She then began a full-time career in journalism and soon became one of the two owners of the Memphis Free Speech.

Her hard-hitting columns were marked by race pride and urgent appeals to black resistance against discrimination. In 1892, three black men, all personally known to her, were lynched in Memphis. Ida Wells charged in her paper that the motives for the lynching were purely economic—all three men having been successful in business. She also urged the black population of Memphis to emigrate to the West.

This case became a turning point in her life. While she was on a business trip in the East, the offices of her paper were destroyed and her life was threatened if she were to return. She then began her one-woman crusade against lynching—lecturing, writing and organizing. Her approach was hard-hitting: she gathered the facts, using the services of detectives, Pinkerton agents or informants, then exposed them to all who would hear, laying bare the politics and economics of lynching. Her contention was that lynching

was an integral part of the system of racial oppression, and that the motives for lynching usually had little to do with crime, but were either economic or political. She dared to bring out into the open what was the most taboo subject of all in Victorian America—the habitual sexual abuse of black women by white men and the myth that the only sexual contact between white women and black men must be based on rape.

Ida Wells toured Great Britain in 1893 and again in 1894. Her public speeches aroused British liberals against American lynching and led to the formation of a British Anti-Lynching Society. Her agitation in Britain aroused a great deal of displeasure and unfavorable comment in the American press and engendered a public controversy between Ida B. Wells and Frances Willard, the national President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Miss Willard was visiting in Britain at the same time as Miss Wells and the latter was repeatedly asked whether white reformers such as Miss Willard spoke out against lynchings. Miss Wells truthfully stated that Miss Willard not only had not spoken out against lynchings, but had returned from a Southern tour as an apologist of the white Southern attitude on the race question, an action for which the Negro press had universally condemned her. Stung by this charge, Miss Willard gave a published interview, disputing these facts. In the course of the interview she repeated the very apologetic statements for which Miss Wells had chided her. The incident is significant because Frances Willard was a lifelong abolitionist, suffragist and ardent reformer and had enormous influence over hundreds of thousands of women. She was, as Ida Wells acidly commented, "no better or worse than the great bulk of white Americans on the Negro question." Still, possibly as the result of this public debate, Frances Willard's name appeared as one of the subscribers to the British Anti-Lynching Society.

On her return to America, Ida B. Wells continued her solitary campaign against lynchings by pamphleteering and

lecturing on the subject. She later became chairman of the Anti-Lynching Bureau of the National Afro-American Council. The work of black club women and later the NAACP on this issue is a direct outgrowth of Ida B. Wells' persistent muckraking journalism, exposés, lectures and organization.

She was also a very important force in the growth of the women's club movement. She helped to organize the first black women's club in Chicago, which took her name and over which she presided. She kept in close touch with the leading club women in the country. In 1895, she married Ferdinand Lee Barnett, a prominent attorney in Chicago, and, although announcing her "retirement," managed and edited The Conservator, a newspaper her husband had founded. "My duties as editor, as president of the Ida B. Wells Woman's Club, and as speaker in many white women's clubs in and around Chicago kept me pretty busy. But I was not too busy to find time to give birth to a male child the following March 25, 1896."* Four months later she attended the first convention of the National Association of Colored Women, bringing along her baby boy and a nurse. A few months later she undertook a speaking tour all over the state on behalf of the Republican Party, again taking her nursing baby along.

In 1908, she organized the Negro Fellowship League and became its President. The organization maintained a settlement house in the slums and was instrumental in organizing militant action around various local racial issues. It was distinguished by its close ties to the poor and working-class community which it served. Mrs. Barnett also was a founding member of the NAACP, but later withdrew from activity in the organization because she advocated more militantly race-conscious leadership. All her life she was critical of and in conflict with Negro leaders who accom-

* Alfreda M. Duster, ed., *Crusade for Justice; The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 343.

modated themselves to whites, although at various times in her career she worked well with some whites, such as Jane Addams and Municipal Court Judge Harry Olsen. The latter appointed her Adult Probation Officer, the first woman in Chicago to hold this job.

Ida Wells Barnett was active in politics and always saw woman suffrage as an instrument for achieving the emancipation of black people. She founded the first black women's political club, the Alpha Suffrage Club of Chicago which mobilized the women's vote in the 1914 mayoralty elections. During the years when she devoted most of her time to raising her four children, she played a leading role in mobilizing protest action in the wake of the post–World War I lynchings and race riots. On several occasions she was the first and only Black on the scene right after the violence and on fact-finding commissions. Her persistent militancy and courage gave her a position of undisputed leadership in her own community and prominence on a national level.

In addition to her journalistic work and anti-lynching pamphlets, Ida B. Wells wrote an autobiography

Not all or nearly all of the murders done by white men, during the past thirty years in the South, have come to light, but the statistics as gathered and preserved by white men, and which have not been questioned, show that during these years more than ten thousand Negroes have been killed in cold blood, without the formality of judicial trial and legal execution. And yet, as evidence of the absolute impunity with which the white man dares to kill a Negro, the same record shows that during all these years, and for all these murders only three white men have been tried, convicted, and executed. As no white man has been lynched for the murder of colored people, these three executions are the only instances of the death penalty being visited upon white men for murdering Negroes.

Naturally enough the commission of these crimes began to tell upon the public conscience, and the Southern white man, as a tribute to the nineteenth century civilization, was in a manner compelled to give excuses for his barbarism. His excuses have adapted themselves to the emergency, and are aptly outlined by that greatest of all Negroes, Frederick Douglass, in a article of recent date, in which he shows that there have been three distinct eras of Southern barbarism, to account for which three distinct excuses have been made.

The first excuse given to the civilized world for the murder of unoffending Negroes was the necessity of the white man to repress and stamp out alleged "race riots." For years immediately succeeding the war there was an appalling slaughter of colored people, and the wires usually conveyed to northern people and the world the intelligence, first, that an insurrection was being planned by Negroes, which, a few hours later, would prove to have been vigorously resisted by white men, and controlled with a resulting loss of several killed and wounded. It was always a remarkable feature in these insurrections and riots that only Negroes were killed during the rioting, and that all the white men escaped unharmed.

From 1865 to 1872, hundreds of colored men and women were mercilessly murdered and the almost invariable reason assigned was that they met their death by being alleged participants in an insurrection or riot. But this story at last wore itself out. No insurrection ever materialized; no Negro rioter was ever apprehended and proven guilty, and no dynamite ever recorded the black man's protest against oppression and wrong. . . .

Then came the second excuse, which had its birth during the turbulent times of reconstruction. By an amendment to the Constitution the Negro was given the right of franchise, and, theoretically at least, his ballot became his invaluable emblem of citizenship. . . . The southern white man would not consider that the Negro had any right which a white man was bound to respect, and the idea of a republican form of government in the southern states grew into general contempt. It was maintained that "This is a white man's govern-

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ment," and regardless of numbers white men should rule. "No Negro domination" became the new legend on the sanguinary banner of the sunny South, and under it rode the Ku Klux Klan, the Regulators, and the lawless mobs, which for any cause chose to murder one man or a dozen as suited their purpose best. It was a long, gory campaign. . . .

The government which had made the Negro a citizen found itself unable to protect him. It gave him the right to vote, but denied him the protection which should have maintained that right. Scourged from his home; hunted through the swamps; hung by midnight raiders, and openly murdered in the light of day, the Negro clung to his right of franchise with a heroism which would have wrung admiration from the hearts of savages. He believed that in the small white ballot there was a subtle something which stood for manhood as well as citizenship, and thousands of brave black men went to their graves, exemplifying the one by dying for the other.

The white man's victory soon became complete by fraud, violence, intimidation and murder. The franchise vouchsafed to the Negro grew to be a "barren ideality," and regardless of numbers, the colored people found themselves voiceless in the councils of those whose duty it was to rule. . . . With the Southern governments all subverted and the Negro actually eliminated from all participation in state and national elections, there could be no longer an excuse for killing Negroes to prevent "Negro Domination."

Brutality still continued; Negroes were whipped, scourged, exiled, shot and hung whenever and wherever it pleased the white man so to treat them, and as the civilized world with increasing persistency held the white people of the South to account for its outlawry, the murderers invented the third excuse—that Negroes had to be killed to avenge their assaults upon women. . . .

Humanity abhors the assailant of womanhood, and this charge upon the Negro at once placed him beyond the pale of human sympathy. . . .

If the Southern people in defense of their lawlessness,

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would tell the truth and admit that colored men and women are lynched for almost any offense, from murder to a misdemeanor, there would not now be the necessity for this defense. But when they intentionally, maliciously and constantly belie the record and bolster up these falsehoods by the words of legislators, preachers, governors and bishops, then the Negro must give to the world his side of the awful story.

A word as to the charge itself. In considering the third reason assigned by the Southern white people for the butchery of blacks, the question must be asked, what the white man means when he charges the black man with rape. Does he mean the crime which the statutes of the states describe as such? Not by any means. With the Southern white man, any mesalliance existing between a white woman and a colored man is a sufficient foundation for the charge of rape. The Southern white man says that it is impossible for a voluntary alliance to exist between a white woman and a colored man, and therefore, the fact of an alliance is a proof of force. In numerous instances where colored men have been lynched on the charge of rape, it was positively known at the time of lynching, and indisputably proven after the victim's death, that the relationship sustained between the man and the woman was voluntary and clandestine, and that in no court of law could even the charge of assault have been successfully maintained.

It was for the assertion of this fact, in the defense of her own race, that the writer hereof became an exile; her property destroyed and her return to her home forbidden under penalty of death, for writing the following editorial which was printed in her paper, the *Free Speech*, in Memphis, Tenn., May 21, 1892:

"Eight Negroes lynched since last issue of the *Free Speech* one at Little Rock, Ark., last Saturday morning where the citizens broke (?) into the penitentiary and got their man; three near Anniston, Ala., one near New Orleans; and three at Clarksville, Ga., the last three for killing a white man, and

five on the same old racket—the new alarm about raping white women. The same programme of hanging, then shooting bullets into the lifeless bodies was carried out to the letter. Nobody in this section of the country believes the old threadbare lie that Negro men rape white women. If Southern white men are not careful, they will over-reach themselves and public sentiment will have a reaction; a conclusion will then be reached which will be very damaging to the moral reputation of their women."

But threats cannot suppress the truth, and while the Negro suffers the soul deformity, resultant from two and a half centuries of slavery, he is no more guilty of this vilest of all vile charges than the white man who would blacken his name.

During all the years of slavery, no such charge was ever made, not even during the dark days of the rebellion. . . . While the master was away fighting to forge the fetters upon the slave, he left his wife and children with no protectors save the Negroes themselves . . .

Likewise during the period of alleged "insurrection," and alarming "race riots," it never occurred to the white man, that his wife and children were in danger of assault. Nor in the Reconstruction era, when the hue and cry was against "Negro Domination," was there ever a thought that the domination would ever contaminate a fireside or strike to death the virtue of womanhood. . . .

It is not the purpose of this defense to say one word against the white women of the South. Such need not be said, but it is their misfortune that the . . . white men of that section . . . to justify their own barbarism . . . assume a chivalry which they do not possess. True chivalry respects all womanhood, and no one who reads the record, as it is written in the faces of the million mulattoes in the South, will for a minute conceive that the southern white man had a very chivalrous regard for the honor due the women of his race or respect for the womanhood which circumstances placed in his power. . . . Virtue knows no color line, and the chivalry which

depends upon complexion of skin and texture of hair can command no honest respect.

When emancipation came to the Negroes . . . from every nook and corner of the North, brave young white women . . . left their cultured homes, their happy associations and their lives of ease, and with heroic determination went to the South to carry light and truth to the benighted blacks. . . . They became social outlaws in the South. The peculiar sensitiveness of the southern white men for women, never shed its protecting influence about them. No friendly word from their own race cheered them in their work; no hospitable doors gave them the companionship like that from which they had come. No chivalrous white man doffed his hat in honor or respect. They were "Nigger teachers"—unpardonable offenders in the social ethics of the South, and were insulted, persecuted and ostracised, not by Negroes, but by the white manhood which boasts of its chivalry toward women.

And yet these northern women worked on, year after year. . . . Threading their way through dense forests, working in schoolhouse, in the cabin and in the church, thrown at all times and in all places among the unfortunate and lowly Negroes, whom they had come to find and to serve, these northern women, thousands and thousands of them, have spent more than a quarter of a century in giving to the colored people their splendid lessons for home and heart and soul. Without protection, save that which innocence gives to every good woman, they went about their work, fearing no assault and suffering none. Their chivalrous protectors were hundreds of miles away in their northern homes, and yet they never feared any "great dark faced mobs." . . . They never complained of assaults, and no mob was ever called into existence to avenge crimes against them. Before the world adjudges the Negro a moral monster, a vicious assailant of womanhood and a menace to the sacred precincts of home, the colored people ask the consideration of the silent record of gratitude, respect, protection and devotion of

the millions of the race in the South, to the thousands of northern white women who have served as teachers and missionaries since the war. . . .

These pages are written in no spirit of vindictiveness. . . . We plead not for the colored people alone, but for all victims of the terrible injustice which puts men and women to death without form of law. During the year 1894, there were 132 persons executed in the United States by due form of law, while in the same year, 197 persons were put to death by mobs who gave the victims no opportunity to make a lawful defense. No comment need be made upon a condition of public sentiment responsible for such alarming results.

Ida Wells Barnett, *A Red Record* (Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1895), pp. 8–15.

LYNCHING FROM A NEGRO'S POINT OF VIEW

MARY CHURCH TERRELL

¶ *In the January 1904 issue of the North American Review, Thomas Nelson Page wrote an article entitled "The Lynching of Negroes—Its Cause and Its Prevention." He cited, as the cause of the increasing number of lynchings, increases in assault and rape of white women by Negroes, delay in meting out justice, and a desire to match the ferocity of attacks with ferocity of punishment. The increase in assaults was due to "racial antagonism and to the talk of social equality, from which it first sprang, that inflames the ignorant negro. . . . The negro does not generally believe in the virtue of women. It is beyond his experience . . . his passion, always his controlling force, is now, since the new teaching, for the white woman."*

How to stop lynching? The author considered emasculation a possibility. "The crime of lynching is not likely to

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "Por la raza y para la raza," in Weber, Foreigners In Their Native Land, 248-251.

Suggested Uses: Western History, Hispanic American History, Immigration History

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Choral reading of selected passages
2) Biopoem on an organization
3) Group work comparing this group to others of similar purposes in other ethnic groups (see documents in assignment section on Grand United Order Toussaint L'Ouverture, the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, *landsmanshaftn*, the Hebrew Free Loan Society, and the brief article on Chinese societies in Hawaii)

Questions:
1) Why was this group being organized? What were its purposes?
2) How are the purposes of this organization similar and different from other mutual aid societies that existed in other immigrant groups?
3) Compare Article XII of the New Mexico state constitution with the Congreso Mexicanista. What conclusions would you draw from comparing these two documents? The constitution is from 1912.

Article XII.

Sec. 8. *Teachers to learn English and Spanish.* The legislature shall provide for the training of teachers in the normal schools or otherwise so that they may become proficient in both the English and Spanish languages, to qualify them to teach Spanish-speaking pupils and students in the public schools and educational institutions of the State, and shall provide proper means and methods to facilitate the teaching of the English language and other branches of learning to such pupils and students.

Sec. 10. *Educational rights of children of Spanish descent.* Children of Spanish descent in the State of New Mexico shall never be denied the right and privilege of admission and attendance in the public schools or other public educational institutions of the State, and they shall never be classed in separate schools, but shall forever enjoy perfect equality with other children in all public schools and educational institutions of the State, and the legislature shall provide penalties for the violation of this section. This section shall never be amended except upon a vote of the people of this State, in an election at which at least three-fourths of the electors voting in the whole State and at least two-thirds of those voting in each county in the State shall vote for such amendment.

7. "Por la raza y para la raza"

Congreso Mexicanista, 1911*

The popularity of mutual benefit societies in the Southwest toward the end of the nineteenth century indicated a growing awareness that group action was more effective than individual efforts in protecting the Mexican American community from oppression and in fighting for justice. This philosophy of group action was carried to its logical conclusion in Texas in 1911, when members of various societies came together in a statewide convention, the *Congreso Mexicanista*.

This extraordinary meeting, which brought together delegates from twenty-four Texas communities at the border town of Laredo, had been prompted by extraordinarily bad times for

*Primer Congreso Mexicanista, Verificado en Laredo, Texas, EE. UU. de A., 14 al 22 de Septiembre de 1911. *Discursos y Conferencias por la raza y para la raza* (Laredo, Tex.: 1912), pp. 35–37. Trans. David J. Weber.

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Mexicans in Texas: the beating to death of a Mexican boy, Antonio Gómez, in Thorndale, Texas, and the burning at the stake of Antonio Rodríguez by an angry mob in Rock Springs, Texas. This latter incident gained considerable publicity and resulted in a wave of anti-American riots in Mexico City.

These events gave an urgency to the stated purpose of the Congress: "to unite and protect all the Texas Mexicans." Unity became the key word at the Congress, and its slogan, *"por la raza y para la raza,"* is similar to the well-known saying in English: "All for one and one for all." To achieve unity, the Congress formed a central organization called the *Gran Liga Mexicanista de Beneficencia y Protección*. The following excerpts from a speech by the Reverend Pedro Grado touches on the three issues of most concern to the delegates: justice, mutual protection, and education.

Farewell Address
The Reverend Pedro Grado

Mr. President:

Respectable Audience:

My turn has arrived in the progression of the program of the *Congreso Mexicanista* to step in the place from which have come forth words full of erudition; ideas that, although heterogeneous, demonstrated with few exceptions beloved unity in the objective that occupies our attention. . . . In this conversation, and it is nothing more, I will touch on some of the points or topics which are most interesting to review, and which may be most useful to us in placing the first bricks of the great social edifice that this Congreso Mexicanista proposes.

There are two black points that, with a prophetic threat, sprout forth and grow in the pure heaven of our liberty and which day by day, worry all good Mexicans, all true patriots, and all persons who shelter altruism and philanthropy in their souls.

The first of these points concerns the oppression and the abuses that the sons of Uncle Sam commit daily to our countrymen, especially in the State of Texas.

The second is the imprudent conduct of men and women, our fellow citizens, in the State of Texas.

The first point has the following classification: I. Bad application of the law when it deals with Mexicans. II. Unpunished molesting of

Mexicans by particular Americans. III. The exclusion of Mexican children from the American schools.

Order demands that the bad application of the law in treating Mexicans be discussed. The disease has its remedy, and it is here that the utility of the Congreso Mexicanista is illustrated, inasmuch as experience teaches us that isolation causes weakness and that weakness produces failure. Reason tells us to make ourselves strong. . . .

The Congreso Mexicanista can and should enhance the Mexican press of Texas. The newspaper is the scourge of the unjust and the denouncer of the abusers of office. It is a powerful medium to carry complaints to the desks of officials and demonstrate by turns that we are not indolent, that we are concerned about the poverty of our countrymen, and that we are able to do all that is within the law for them.

The Congreso Mexicanista can and should embrace wealthy, influential men because of their morality, their knowledge, and their contacts. These are the ones who, in case of difficulty, will have access to elevated representatives of the law.

The Congreso will broaden itself admirably, and admirable will be the results, if it tries to attract to it all the secret societies of the Masonic type, or whose members might be our countrymen, or the lodges that might be of this kind. It should do the same with the mutual societies and those that simply have altruism as their ideal. How surprising will be the effect of a petition, or a request, or of a communication backed by thousands of individuals! What greater satisfaction for a needy person than the loving hand of thousands of his fellow citizens, ready to put to flight the terrible anxiety which poverty causes. Considering that this Congreso will come to be that which I suppose, with the elements now established, the oppressions of the authorities will stop. . . .

The unpunished vexations of particular Americans may continue. This problem is more difficult to solve. . . . The Mexican braceros who work in a mill, on a hacienda, or in a plantation would do well to establish *Ligas Mexicanistas*, and see that their neighbors form them. Thus, once united, with the help of the press, and with the valuable group of philanthropists of wealth or influence in some department, they will be able to strike back at the hatred of some bad sons of Uncle Sam who believe themselves better than the Mexicans because of the magic that surrounds the word *white*.

It remains for us to say something of the exclusion of Mexican children from the Anglo-Saxon schools in the majority of the counties of the State of Texas. We can say this is a difficult but not unsolvable problem.

What happens in Laredo, Texas, in San Diego of the same state, and in other river communities where the Mexican children have free access to the American schools and high schools? The purpose of this question is to go to the reasons, because if these reasons are transmissible, the problem is not far from resolving itself. . . . In the aforementioned towns, the Mexican element dominates and is intimately bound to the Anglo-Saxon by ties of commerce and other kinds. In these same towns there are respectable Mexicans with prominent positions in the court houses, so that we find in this one of the causes, or the reason, for the Mexican children's access to American schools. Would we be able to make these means transmissible, and make the influence of those men extend to many miles round about? Yes, it is possible when all in mass distinguish themselves as *mexicanistas* and take interest in their countrymen. Whatever may be the reasons they exclude Mexicans from the schools, I do not find another solution than the influence and heterogeneous powers of *mexicanismo*. . . .

8. A Sample from the Press — El Labrador, 1904*

One of the most important tools for organizing the Mexican American community in the nineteenth century, as today, was the Spanish-language press. While these papers often served special interest groups, many of them had the broader interests of Mexican Americans in mind.

The following sampling from *El Labrador*, published in Las Cruces, New Mexico, demonstrates the desire of the editor to have Mexican Americans work within the American system, yet

*The three articles which follow come, respectively, from the March 20, July 15, and December 30, 1904 issues of *El Labrador*. The last article first appeared, apparently, in *El Independiente* of Las Vegas, New Mexico, then was reprinted in *El Labrador*. All three items translated by David J. Weber.

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ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations, *The Journal of Southern History*, LVI (February, 1990), 3-22. This article is a wonderful, succinct summary of the myriad of activities that black women have followed in efforts to help their community. The article contributes significantly to perception of the complexity of the African-American community. For another source on 19th century women's groups with some primary documents, see Dorothy Sterling, We Are Your Sisters, 104-119.

Suggested Uses: 1) Women's History (what motivates women to participate in reform movements? how does the work compare to that of the National Council of Jewish Women? see the document on NCJW in the Assignments section of this project), African-American History (how do the actions of these women reflect traditional values within the African-American community?), American reform efforts (are the purposes of black reform organizations similar or different from the purposes of other reform groups?)

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Group work- students read the article and develop their own views of these organizations, based on small group discussions and then present their views to the class
2) Brief papers on individual groups, using black biographical encyclopedias or other sources
3) Teacher/student discussion based on the questions below
4) Biopoem on black women's organizations

Questions: 1) Why was this article written in the first place?
2) Who were the black women who belonged to these myriad organizations?
3) What were the goals of such groups?
4) What degree of success do you think these organizations had? What could contribute to the success or failure of a group?
5) What obstacles or barriers did the organizers of such groups face?
6) What problems within the African-American community were these groups trying to address?
7) How would you compare these organizations to other organizations of reform that you have studied?

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "Club Activities [1906]," in Lerner, Black Women In White America, 450-458

Suggested Uses: Progressivism (compare to the activities of other women reformers and reform in general), African-American History, Women's History

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Poem for Two Voices (for example the National Association of Colored Women and the National Council of Jewish Women
2) Choral Reading
3) Teacher/Student Discussion

Questions:
1) Why were some local clubs named after Phillis Wheatley and Sojourner Truth?
2) What kinds of activities did these clubs pursue?
3) What was the source of the funds for these clubs?
4) In what ways did the activities of these women reflect traditional values about women?
5) What goals did these women have in pursuing these activities? What did they hope to achieve through these activities?
6) How do the activities of these African-American women compare to the activities of the National Council of Jewish Women? How are their activities similar? How are they different? (See documents on the National Council of Jewish Women in the Assignments section of this project).
7) What obstacles did these women face in pursuing their activities?
8) Discuss your reaction to the statement of the St. Louis Colored Orphan Home to the NACW explaining that "Orphans Home Day" represented a truly "race effort" because whites contributed less than $50 of the $529 collected
9) Compare the activities of these groups to the goals of the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston (see the document in Assignments section of this project).

their position. They insist the great Federation shall not commit itself to any policy of exclusion, by which the deserving woman of any race or color shall be kept from its benefits and inspirations.

There are thousands of such women, and they prefer that the Federation should go to pieces and cease to be rather than to make vital in their work the prejudices and principles of fifty years ago. . . . They believe that the white women of the country should not be unwilling to aid in every way colored women who are struggling to work out their own salvation. They are not disturbed by the cry of social equality. They stand for progress and for the broadest sympathy and for womankind. This seems to be the sentiment of the majority of the noble women in the country, and they have no doubt of saving the Federation from committing itself to the meaner policy of exclusion.

The Attitude of Colored Women in the Controversy.—The colored women have kept themselves serene while this color-line controversy has been raging around them. They have taken a keen and intelligent interest in all that has been said for and against them, but through it all they have lost neither their patience nor their hope in the ultimate triumph of right principles.

☞ *The GFWC maintained its segregationist policy for several decades after this incident.*

Fannie Barrier Williams, "Club Movement Among Negro Women," in J. W. Gibson and W. H. Crogman, eds., *Progress of a Race*, (Atlanta, Georgia: J. L. Nichols Co., 1903), pp. 210–216.

(Note: In the 1919 edition of this book, the article on this same topic was written by Margaret Murray Washington.)

CLUB ACTIVITIES

☞ *The following accounts of club activity, as reported to the 1906 convention of the NACW, are fairly representative. It is noteworthy how much energy was devoted to*

supplying needed welfare services and building community institutions. In fact, black initiative, effort and organizational talent supplied what white racism sought to deny the black community. Reports such as these, coming in year after year from virtually every area in which Blacks lived, are convincing proof of the internal strength of the black community against all odds. The leadership contributions and sustaining efforts of black women are remarkable and can be fully appreciated only when measured against the general impoverishment of the communities in which they lived and worked.

COLORED WOMAN'S LEAGUE

The Colored Woman's League was organized in June, 1892. Its central idea was National Union. It appealed to the Colored Women of the country to form similar organizations and to co-operate with them for the accomplishment of the objects set forth in its constitution. As a result of the appeal the First National organization of Colored Women was formed and was finally admitted into the National Council of Women at the Triennial meeting held in Washington, February, 1895. After a brilliant and successful convention held in 1896, The National League agreed to unite with another organization of colored women. The Washington League then turned with increased ardor to its local work. It established a training school for kindergarten teachers, October, 1896, and for two years after maintained seven free kindergartens. Later the kindergarten system was introduced into the public schools of Washington. The credit is due the League for furnishing to the public schools from their training classes seven of the eight teachers appointed. . . .

The women of the League are at present engaged in carrying on a Day Nursery to provide a place where poor mothers who work out may leave their little ones during the day, knowing that they will be kindly cared for. . . .

Annual membership dues, $1.00. Regular monthly meeting held last Monday in each month at 1505 M street, 7:30 p.m. . . .

Andrew F. Hilyer, ed., *The 20th Century Union League Directory: A Historical, Biographical and Statistical Study of Colored Washington* (Washington, D.C.: Union League, 1901), p. 155.

WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN, SOCIAL AND LITERARY CLUB OF PEORIA, ILL.

We, the Women's Christian, Social and Literary Club of Peoria, Ill. beg leave to submit the following report for 1905–1906: We have a membership of 15 active members and 7 honorary members. . . . Our motto is "For God and Humanity." . . . Last year we had a good school for the little ones, and did much good and realized $5.50 from their work. . . . We have seventeen pupils. We have donated to the Baptist Church $15 and to the A.M.E. Church $17. . . . Assisted 44 different persons. We meet every Monday afternoon. . . .

On June 28, 1906, we made arrangements to purchase 5½ acres of land on which we will erect an industrial home and school for all ages of our people. This piece of land cost us $6000. It is a handsome place, and it is now laid out in 36 lots, thirty by one hundred twenty-five feet. After paying all expenses and $150 on the place, we will have left in the bank $25. Respectfully submitted, Mrs. Anna R. Fields, Founder and President.

PHILLIS WHEATLEY HOME ASSOCIATION OF DETROIT

The Phillis Wheatley Home Association of Detroit, Michigan was organized in 1897, the object being the establishment of a home for our aged colored women. In 1897 a few earnest women met . . . and they were without funds but each one contributed her might and the Committee rented a building. Furnishings were solicited . . . applications were received and on our opening day seven old ladies were re-

ceived in the Phillis Wheatley Home. In 1901 the Phillis Wheatley Home Association was incorporated under the state laws, and seeing the necessity of having a permanent building, we purchased the property at 176 East Elizabeth Street at a cost of $4000, paying $1300 cash. We had [1] at present 12 inmates. . . . We have 24 members, regular meetings are held every Tuesday evening. Cash receipts (from donations for the past two years, 1904–1906) includes $1847. Respectfully submitted, Eliza Wilson, President.

SOJOURNER TRUTH CLUB OF MONTGOMERY, ALA.

The Sojourner Truth Club of Montgomery, Alabama furnished a reading room, this being the only one of its kind available for colored people in our city. It has six tables, two bookcases, three sets of bookshelves, one and a half dozen chairs, stove pictures, floor coverings of linoleum, rugs, twelve to fifteen current periodicals, 300 or more books. The room is lighted by shaded incandescent lights. The librarian is hired and the hours are from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. Back of the reading room we have recently furnished a club room with a small table, two dozen chairs, matting, rugs, curtains, stove and pictures. It makes quite a cozy appearance. A third room we hope to furnish is a kitchen. Here we hope to have cooking lessons given for the benefit of the public. All this is paid for by 25¢-per-month membership dues and fund-raising affairs held by the club. They have also invited guest speakers, such as Dr. Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du-Bois and Kelly Miller.

The membership is 29.

Above three items: Mary Margaret Washington Papers, Tuskegee Archives, Tuskegee Institute. Used by permission.

TUSKEGEE WOMAN'S CLUB

The Tuskegee Woman's Club closes the tenth year of its work in sober retrospection of the days that have closed in

upon it since its organization in March 1895. . . . The first club year ended with a membership of thirty-five. This tenth year closes with a . . . membership of seventy-four. . . .

The literary calender of the Tuskegee Woman's Club has ended for the year 1904–05. Among the various topics discussed in the semi-monthly meetings have been,the works of leading colored musicians, the value of the X Ray, Wireless Telegraphy, Famous Women of the Hour, The Christ Child in Art, The Use of Electricity in Medical Science. These, with reviews of current articles, debates, musical numbers and readings, have formed the literary programs for the year. . . .

Of the work accomplished during the year, the heads of the divisions, with two exceptions, report the following:

Jail Work.—Thirty visits have been made to the prisoners in the jail of the town of Tuskegee. Religious services have been held at each visit. Fruit and clean clothing have been given to the prisoners who have expressed their gratitude, and made successful efforts to present a tidy appearance during our visits. Four small boys, imprisoned for theft, were with four men who could not read or write. All were given their first lessons by a fellow prisoner who had better advantages. . . . Four Bible students and several teachers have given much time to help better the work for these unfortunates. . . .

Elizabeth A. Russell Settlement Work.—The work at the Settlement has been carried on as formerly, by the resident worker, Miss Annie Davis, who for the first time in the seven years' history of the Settlement, has received recognition from the county authorities. The cooking, sewing classes, and Mothers' Organization have been conducted by Miss Davis; the pupils of the day school have put in the crops on the ten acre lot of the settlement. . . . The school cottage and the home cottage with their twenty acres comprise the E. A. Russell Settlement, but the workers are encouraged because their efforts for the year have been fruitful. The year ends with an average attendance of fifty-three children in the school; fifteen girls in the sewing and cooking classes; thirty-

four women in the Mothers Meetings, and one hundred thirty-eight men, women and children in the Sunday school.

Thompson's Quarters Out-of-Door Sunday School.—After more than three years' work in Thompson's Quarters we find the interest increasing in the Sunday school and a larger attendance during the winter and spring months. The average attendance has been thirty-five, mostly children, occasionally four or five adults have been present. . . .

Along with the Bible teaching, we have given a helping hand wherever it has been needed, by visiting the sick and adding somewhat to the comfort of the afflicted. . . .

Temperance Work.—Vigorous efforts have been made during this year, as has been true in past years, to keep the work of the temperance cause fresh in the minds of the students and the children of the neighboring vicinity. . . .

Mothers' Meetings.—For a number of years we have carried on the Mothers' Meetings in the town of Tuskegee. Our object has been to create an interest among the women for self improvement; for the betterment of their homes and the development of their children. . . . We have held twenty-eight meetings beginning at two o'clock on Saturdays and closing at five. There has been an average attendance of fifty. Often there have been seventy-five present.

We have no president of the meeting and no treasurer. In fact we have had no officers. It has been a gathering of women who wanted to be helped and who wanted to help. We have always opened the meetings with devotional exercises. We have discussed helpful subjects freely. Among them have been: "The part a woman should take in buying land and building a house," "The care of children . . . ," "The boy's place in the home," "The importance of close confidence between mother and daughter; father and son," "How to teach children respect for parents and sacred relations," "The kind of a teacher to have in a community."

The mothers have also been urged to plant and raise all kinds of vegetables that they may improve the physical condition of themselves and families.

Once during the year the mothers evinced great interest in bringing together a creditable exhibit of turnips, peas, beans, potatoes, butter, eggs, and chickens.

The mothers have been glad to learn how and what to buy, not only for their tables but for their wearing apperal [*sic*]. . . .

Many of the women belonging to these Mothers' Meetings are engaged themselves in other meetings throughout the country. At Little Texas, Sweet Gum, Howard Chapel, and Shady Grove they have opened subdivisions. . . .

Woman's Suffrage Division.—There has been greater interest in the study of the suffrage movement during the year past than ever before in the history of the club. . . . Ten minutes of each club meeting have been devoted to this study under the leader, Mrs. Logan, whose excellent library on the subject has been placed at the service of all interested members of the club.

Report of the Tuskegee Women's Club 1904–1905 (n.p., 1906). Pamphlet.

THE ST. LOUIS COLORED ORPHAN HOME

St. Louis, July 8, 1906

To the President and Members of the National Association of Colored Women here assembled.

Dear Sisters and Co-workers for God and the promotion of the welfare of our race. In submitting to you a report of our work we do not intend to weary you with a lengthy report. . . . Today we give you the report of three months labor, which resulted in the hearty cooperation of our people. "Orphans Home Day" free will offerings represent the churches, Sunday schools, secret, benevolent, and social organizations of St. Louis and vicinity. . . . We gave two Day Excursions just one week apart, 25th of June and 2nd of July, and of course we feel very proud to submit the financial report of this effort. Especially because it truly represents

race effort, for there is not in this over fifty Dollars contributed by our white friends. We would not have you think they are not generous to our work they are. *But these* are our special Days.

Orphans May Day Collections	$529.95
Refreshments	203.35
Total	$733.30
Expense	177.05
	$556.25

Appropriated to Building Fund $278.00

June excursion	$1129.00	
Expense	349.00	
Balance	$780.00	
July Excursion	$767.00	
Expense	309.00	
Balance	$458.00	
Bro't Forward		$278.00
" "		780.00
		458.00
From interest Note Club on Interest		60.00
	Total	$1576.00
Paid on Principal	$1000.00	
For carpentry, painting & roofing	164.00	
Special Sewer tax	200.00	
Total	$1364.00	$1364.00
Balance		$ 212.00
Paid by the Interest Note Club on Interest	60.00	

Summary of five years.

Dec. 1901 we came in possession of property by paying $1200 cash. Have raised and paid during five years on principal $4500. Paid on Interest $930.00. Improvements and repairs $1200.00. Making a total on property $7830. Besides meeting the current expenses of the Home *this* Represents the co-operation of *our* people in St. Louis. . . . Yours Sincerely Interest Note Club, Wardrobe Club and Nursery Club Board of Managers, Mrs. M. L. Harrison Pres.

Mary Margaret Washington Papers, Tuskegee Archives, Tuskegee Institute. Used by permission.

INTERRACIAL WORK

Even during the worst periods of repression of Blacks, cooperative efforts between white and black Southern women occurred sporadically, usually on a community basis. Temperance societies sometimes cooperated, churches joined in a common charity, and, for the relief of a particular need, club women cooperated across racial lines. Outside the field of education, such contacts were the exception. Parallel but race-segregated endeavors of women's clubs were the rule. Only in the YWCA were there some steps taken toward interracial contacts, but these were faltering and insignificant until the 1920's (see pp. 480–483).

As a result of the democratic hopes raised by World War I and the shocking polarization of the races at the end of the war which found expression in race riots, lynchings and terror, women of both races felt impelled to make stronger efforts than before to bridge the gap. Eva Bowles, the first YWCA Secretary in charge of "colored work," and Mrs. Lugenia Hope, wife of the President of Atlanta University, led the move among black women. In July 1919, the Women's Missionary Council Committee on Race Relations

sent two white delegates, Mrs. Luke Johnson and Mrs. Haskins, as observers to a Tuskegee conference of the National Association of Colored Women. In a small meeting after the public gathering, the black women sought to enlist the aid of white club women in order to stop lynchings and the white women promised to bring the issue before their own organizations. The black women later prepared a statement of their major needs and grievances (pp. 461–467) which was presented to the white women's clubs. In 1920, through the efforts of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) under the leadership of Dr. Will Alexander, four black guest speakers were invited to a conference of white Southern women to describe the needs of their people. While the first three speakers confined themselves to conventional statements of appreciation and good will, Charlotte Hawkins Brown electrified the meeting with her frank account of what it was like to suffer discrimination in trains and public conveyances (see pp. 467–472). The emotion-filled meeting ended with the 105 representatives of church and secular woman's organizations constituting themselves the Women's Council of the CIC and pledging themselves to grass-roots interracial work. The Women's Council, gradually growing in stature and importance, spearheaded this effort with a variety of organizational and educational activities. By 1929, 805 interracial county committees were functioning in the Southern states.

In 1930, at the initiative of the Women's Council, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL) was formed under the leadership of Jesse Daniel Ames, a businesswoman and suffragist from Texas (see pp. 472–477). Interracial conferences, local committees and the slow integration of state and national community organizations continued for several decades. Black and white women were in this respect ahead of their communities and their men, possibly because the common concerns of women for their homes and their children prevailed over prejudice and vested interests.

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: Rogow, Gone To Another Meeting, 136-138, 142-143, 145-147
This book is a history of the National Council of Jewish Women, an organization established in the late 19th century. These excerpts describe the response of this organization to the massive migration of Jews from Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Suggested Uses: Immigration History (how do groups help others who follow them to the United States?), Progressivism (do these kinds of activities fit within the framework of Progressivism?), Women's History

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Poem for two voices (use the documents in the Assignments section on the National Association of Colored Women)
2) Teacher/student discussion using questions below
3) Group work comparing the activities of this group with other groups during the Progressive era.

Questions: 1) What kinds of actions did the National Council of Jewish Women take to help Jewish immigrants, especially women?
2) What were their motives in pursuing these activities?
3) What was the extent of their success?
4) What obstacles would these women face?
5) How do the activities of the Jewish women compare to those of African-American women at the same time? (See the documents on the National Council of Colored Women in the Assignments section of this project)
6) Did the activities of these women reflect traditional values that women should follow or did they challenge those values?
7) Which actions, if any, would you classify as part of the Progressive movement of the early 20th century? Were these activities, such as birth control and pure food agitation, on the forefront or a reflection of changing American values?

popular first step for Council women because the volunteer work they required often duplicated familiar domestic tasks. Through settlement houses, Council women became surrogate mothers to the immigrant community while gaining the experience and confidence that allowed them to create one of America's most intricate and influential immigrant aid programs.

In fact, NCJW placed its entire immigrant aid policy in the framework of family and motherhood. Members believed that strong families were the key to their own success, a conviction from which flowed Council's conclusion that if immigrant life was to have any sense of stability, immigrant women, like Council women, would have to become strong mothers. It did not take more than a cursory glance to see that the needs of immigrant Jewish girls (future mothers) and women differed from those of other immigrants, and that no organization, Jewish or secular, addressed those needs. NCJW tailored its programs to fill that gap. Thus guided by its mission of motherhood, Council set out to protect its immigrant Jewish daughters. Informed by the 1894 report of New York State legislature's Lexow Committee[24] and reports from England's Union of Jewish Women Workers[25] and despite hesitancy in the Jewish community to expose publicly its vices,[26] NCJW concluded that the greatest single threat to female immigrants was the white slave trade. Often traveling alone, unfamiliar with the language or American customs, full of grand myths about the availability of American wealth, and in desperate need of employment, immigrant girls were easy targets for white slavers. Promising easy money or marriage, or simply posing as understanding friends, pimps coaxed girls into dependency and then forced them into prostitution. Apparently, these pimps enjoyed a good measure of success. One source estimated that half the prostitutes on Chicago's West Side were Jewish.[27] The involvement of Jews in the white slave trade was no secret. Many Jews simply accepted prostitutes as part of the local scene.[28] Male-run organizations were slow to act, their first formal efforts coming six years after NCJW began their attack.[29]

Like other organizations that eventually entered the fight against the white slavers, Council was concerned because Jewish prostitutes and pimps provided fodder for anti-Semites. Attorneys defending

pimps claimed that Jewish girls were not forced into prostitution, but rather chose it freely because Jews instinctively wanted to line their pockets with easy money.[30] Anti-Semites repeated this claim outside the courtroom, blaming Jews for society's ills and insisting that Jews be deported before they corrupted America's morals.[31] Desiring to remove the excuse for this anti-Semitism but primarily concerned with the tragic effects of the slave trade on girls' lives, Council's initial efforts concentrated on juvenile court work (where as volunteer probation officers Council women acted as surrogate mothers to their charges) and on developing methods that would keep girls from meeting the white slavers in the first place. Early aid included providing safe housing for single women and guiding unaccompanied women from the docks to their families.

These efforts were distinctly different from early Reformers' attempts to redeem "fallen women" by introducing them to Christian salvation. Though such Council members as Alice Davis Menken, founder of the Jewish Big Sister movement and noted New York social worker, invited Jewish defendants to Sunday morning meetings at local synagogues,[32] Council did not bombard the girls they served with religious ideology. In part, this was a natural outcome of its emphasis on prevention over cure, and in part a product of its need to de-emphasize Judaism to avoid fracturing the organization, but mostly it was because Council did not see the girls as "fallen." Not only was such a concept foreign to Judaism, but it contradicted Council's settlement house-inspired belief that its clients were essentially good people who had been forced off life's proper path by outside circumstance, not internal deficiencies of the soul. As longtime national board member, Hattie Kahn, summarized, "the Jewish immigrant does not belong in the class in which we find her but has been forced there by untoward circumstances."[33] NCJW's focus, therefore, was on providing material, not spiritual help.

Council's efforts to protect its immigrant "daughters" quickly won acclaim. Members like Maude E. Miner and Alice Davis Menken earned national fame for their prison and judicial reform work. In 1925, Menken attributed New York City's 40 percent decrease in Jewish women arraigned for sexual offenses to Council's preventive programs.[34] Sadie American, representing NCJW at an international conference on the white slave trade in Spain, was

granted an audience by Spain's king and queen, who praised Council's work. By 1903, NCJW had so clearly established itself as the undisputed leader in this unique work that the U.S. government sought its help in preventing immigrant girls from falling into the hands of white slavers. In response to that request, Council's Department of Immigrant Aid (later renamed Service to the Foreign Born) was established. By 1905, just two years after the government first sought its help, Council created a permanent aid station to receive Jewish women at Ellis Island.[35] The Ellis Island station was staffed both by paid agents and by volunteers. Council recruited employees who could speak Yiddish and attempted to team them with volunteers who could speak other European languages, hoping to address a diversity of immigrant needs. Securing names from ship manifests and detention lists, Council agents interviewed every female Jewish immigrant between the ages of twelve and thirty.[36]

These interviews revealed that immigrant conceptions of life in America were often based on the glowing descriptions of German Jewish success in mid-nineteenth-century America. Council women, often vocally appreciative of the social and financial benefits they reaped from American liberty and capitalism, now had to temper their patriotic praise. Though few Council women publicly attempted to explain the change, most recognized that freedom would not be as sweet for these new immigrants as it had been for their own families, at least not at first. Knowing that disillusionment stemming from false expectations would likely lead young girls into trouble, NCJW tried to provide a more accurate picture by printing a leaflet which it distributed in Russia and in European ports of embarkation. The leaflet provided information on how to seek help from Council and warned young women to "Beware of those who give addresses, offer you easy, well paid work or even marriage" because "there are evil men and women who have in this way led girls to destruction."[37]

Believing that informed people would act intelligently, Council hoped their warnings would prepare girls to fend off the advances of white slavers. The leaflets also tried to counter false notions about America, stating that U.S. law prohibited the employment of anyone under the age of fourteen and required youths to attend school, concluding with a final warning that failure to abide by these laws

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In 1906 immigrant women report to an NCJW agent at Ellis Island. At the top of the stairs, friendly visitor Ray Perlman waits to help the women reach their final destinations safely. (Photo by Underwood Park Place, courtesy NCJW)

could result in deportation. The leaflet tempered its harsh tones by adding assurances that Council would help the immigrant make necessary adjustments.

By 1907, Ellis Island was the hub of Council programming, providing the model used by Council representatives at every major American port of entry. Acting as advocates for the immigrants, Council translators often helped smooth difficulties with customs officials, easing entry for many who would otherwise have been detained.[38] The key to Council work, however, was the personal interview. In addition to informing the immigrant of Council programs the interviewer would ascertain the intended destination of the woman. For cases in which only a name and city were available, port workers would cable the Section (or in cities without a Section, a designated correspondent) who would then attempt to locate the family. Once Council agents were sure that the name was not phony (indicating the work of white slave traders), they would instruct the client on how to travel to her destination, frequently escorting her to the door of the train and occasionally paying her fare.

Volunteers at the final destination would be cabled to expect the immigrant's arrival and with her relatives (if possible) would meet the train. That volunteer would accompany the immigrant to her new home. Council instructed the volunteer to ask a series of questions to ensure the girl's continued safety. One Council guide sheet noted that it was especially important to see "that a girl is living with older persons who may be able to exercise some control over her," continuing that the importance of this supervision would be obvious to "any woman."[39] Just in case it might not be obvious, however, the guidelines explained that young women, especially those who earned their own keep, often refused to accept the supervision of younger relatives and were likely to end up in trouble.

To make certain that settlement would continue to go smoothly, the volunteer would "adopt" the entire family, directing them to available employment, health care, educational opportunities, and even entertainment. These "friendly visitors," would return to the household on a regular basis to check on their clients' progress, offer explanations of American customs, help bring other family members to the United States,[40] and sometimes simply offer encourage-

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Typical of Council's immigrant aid efforts, members of the Newark Section Committee of Service to the Foregin Born conduct English and Americanization classes for women in the familiar surroundings of the immigrants' own kitchens. (Photo courtesy the National Council of Jewish Women)

ment. The friendly visitor would then report back to the Section in the port of entry, assuring the agents that the client had arrived safely and was appropriately cared for. Contact between client and friendly visitor would continue until aid was no longer needed or after three years, the period of time by which U.S. law differentiated between an immigrant and a soon-to-be citizen.[41]

Even Council's personal attention from dock to door could not keep all clients out of trouble. According to Council, the immigrant, confronted by desperate surroundings, driven by hunger, and convinced that she had no other opportunities, often resorted to crime.[42] Council, like most Progressive Reform agencies after 1900,[43] was quick to attribute delinquent behavior to circumstance rather than a lack of morals, explaining that poverty was "the parent of vice, ignorance, mendacity, [and] crime."[44] In Council's view, elimination of poverty would put an end to most criminal activity.

Popular women's club analysis traced poverty to a chain that began with ignorance, which could be eliminated through universal public education.[45] While NCJW generally agreed with this assessment, its own analysis borrowed again from settlement house philosophy to go beyond this simple view to explain poverty not as a lack of drive or knowledge but as an outcome of America's political and economic system. Because it viewed the problem as systemic, NCJW concluded that changes would need to be wide-ranging and would not likely come voluntarily. Yet, if it could not change the system that produced poverty, the rest of its efforts ultimately would be worthless. Therefore, like the settlement house movement, in addition to social welfare work NCJW demanded governmental legislation and began an extensive lobbying effort to see that its demands were met. Eventually many women's clubs would be counted among those that had "polished modern methods of pressure-group politics."[46] In the meantime, the realities of immigrant life demanded more immediate action than was likely to be forthcoming from the government. Following recommendations based on Council's national research, local Sections developed supplementary programs to aid immigrants from infancy through adulthood.

Again basing its approach on motherhood, NCJW believed that upstanding adults did not appear miraculously but had to be care-

fully shaped from earliest childhood days. Provisions for needy infants started with the basics. "To ensure that no child would be born that might be an unbearable financial burden to the family, Council was an early advocate for birth control, pointing out problems caused by overpopulation in countries like India and China and noting that several European nations permitted its dissemination without negative consequence.[47] On the local level for example, in 1927 Detroit Section vice-president Elsie Sulzberger founded the "Mother's Health Clinic," reputedly the only source for birth control between Chicago and New York. In her autobiography, Margaret Sanger credited NCJW with being the first organization in the United States to demand publicly the legalization of birth control,[48] though it was not until 1931 that Council passed an official resolution calling for decriminalization of mailing materials "by properly authorized agencies, relative to birth control."[49] In keeping with Council's self-image as benefactor rather than client, no Council material on birth control mentioned that legalization might also benefit NCJW members.

Once the child was born, preservation of its health was of primary concern. In the first several decades of its existence, Council's day-to-day work was interrupted regularly by the illness or death of a member. How much more precarious, then, did the health of immigrants living in slums seem. Always focused on prevention, Council emphasized hygiene and nutrition in the hope that fewer children would succumb to illness. Members lobbied local politicians to implement public sanitation programs and campaigned for national governmental assurance of food purity. Sections provided free milk, penny lunches, and instruction on personal hygiene to public school children. Recreation and exposure to the outdoors were also important in Council's plans, so it financed outings and several Sections ran summer camps or vacation schools. Council women pressured municipalities to build parks and install sanitation systems. In addition to group programs, Council hired public health nurses to visit clients, provided free medical examinations, and when necessary, free medicine. Health care concerns also led NCJW to become a sponsor of Denver's National Hospital for Consumptives, which provided free services to the needy.

Once Council had done its best to guard the health of the chil-

dren, it proceeded to provide for their religious and secular education. Since its inception, NCJW had been immersed in a struggle to protect Jewish homes against Christian intrusion, from providing religious education for members and their children to questioning the practice of adorning Jewish homes with Christmas decorations.[50] Extension of this work into the immigrant community flowed naturally. Christian missions were active in immigrant ghettoes, and Council was justifiably concerned that pressure from missionaries combined with the apparent rewards of assimilation would turn young Jews away from their heritage. Though many Council members certainly hoped to coax immigrants away from traditional Jewish practices that they viewed as embarrassing, the Jewish education they offered was no more monolithically Reform than was Council's membership. Council's commitment to uniting Jewish women from all denominations kept them from trying to "convert" immigrants to Reform Judaism. Instead, as with their own membership, Council fought to preserve Jewish identity without defining what that meant. Its purpose was not to promote or denigrate a specific interpretation of Judaism, but rather to "continue with unabated zeal to contend against the wholesale conversion of Jewish children."[51] Moreover, because Council ideology proclaimed family strength as the key to the preservation of Judaism, it was careful to avoid religious persuasion that might endanger familial ties: "Nothing should be presented to the child antagonistic to the belief and observance of the parents, as it would create a spirit of resentment in the home and respect for religious beliefs must be fostered."[52]

Its pluralistic approach to religious practice sometimes led NCJW to conduct activities that supported traditional Judaism. For example, out of respect for clients' Sabbath observance, on Saturdays Council Houses shut down all but essential programs or programs that conformed to traditional observance, such as Sabbath story hours or similar activities designed to keep children off the streets.[53] Council also took on the responsibility of distributing Jewish calendars to all social service agencies so they could facilitate their clients' observance of Jewish holidays,[54] and some Sections provided immigrants with necessary holiday provisions, such as matzah on Passover.[55] NCJW pressed the rabbinic community to provide religious

services for Jews incarcerated in prisons and reformatories and for shut-ins. It also demanded that no Jew be turned away from a synagogue for lack of membership dues,[56] and it supported the growth of American rabbinic seminaries of all denominations so that congregations would have an ample supply of English-speaking rabbis who, shaped by the same cultural changes experienced by their congregants, were more likely to appeal to children being raised in America.[57]

Other Council programs seemed to support traditional Judaism on the surface, but in fact, reflected ambivalence. When one Talmud Torah needed sanitary plumbing, Council funded the repair, but out of concern for the welfare of the children, not out of support for the school's curriculum.[58] Still other programs actually encouraged religious observance but appeared to be anti-traditional. For example, Council religious schools rejected the traditional *cheder*, not so much because Council women felt uncomfortable with its values, but because they believed its teaching methods to be outdated and ineffective. In a similar contradiction, NCJW demanded that traditional Jewish schools go against custom and welcome girls as well as boys, not as part of any fight for equality or radical change, but because Council women knew from personal experience that girls who did not receive religious training did not become "good" Jewish mothers and would accordingly be unable to pass Judaism on to their children. The changes Council proposed to traditional Jewish education were based in the desire to slow assimilation rather than an attempt to criticize immigrant religious practice.

On one point NCJW was never ambivalent: religious education was not enough. Council supported immigrant access to quality secular education with great vigor. In addition to pressing for improvements in public school facilities and better teacher training, it ran free kindergartens and endowed public libraries. In a pioneering effort, NCJW recommended instituting preschool programs as well.[59] To ensure that children stay in school, Council participated in the 1909 White House Conference on Child Welfare and President Taft's 1911 Child Labor Committee. For Council, the outcome of that conference was a strong Congressional lobbying effort in support of child labor laws and protective legislation for

women.[60] Because most Council members had raised or were raising children themselves, they knew from experience that entertainment was an important counterbalance to the demands of educational programs. Council's economical solution was the creation of "toyeries," libraries that lent toys rather than books.[61]

Council members nonetheless knew that as children reached adolescence toyeries would not divert teenage attention from the corrupting influence of the street. Again relying on the belief that education was the "preventive medicine of all living,"[62] Council promoted sex education as a prophylaxis against the white slave trade and sexually transmitted disease. Like the Female Moral Reform Societies that preceded it,[63] NCJW accepted the popular notion that women were responsible for upholding the morals of their children, and it encouraged mothers to take on the burden of this education. Council, however, was also realistic. Recognizing that "the majority of parents are disinclined or incompetent to give this instruction judiciously and effectively," NCJW was among the first proponents of sex education in the public schools.[64] By declaring parents incompetent on the subject, Council was not only pointing out a real gap in education but also creating an otherwise unavailable opportunity to infuse immigrant families with its own ideology, or as it would have termed its efforts, to "Americanize" the immigrants. In addition to lessons on biology, Council encouraged frank discussion of the values surrounding sexual behavior, especially regarding the differing standards applied to boys and girls. No one who was familiar with the white slave trade could have failed to notice that while prostitutes were prosecuted vigorously, their customers rarely suffered any consequences. Boys could easily conclude that "vice on their part was a comparatively innocent thing."[65]

Here, again, Council's critique of America's sexual double standard reflected attitudes expressed as early as the 1830s by Female Moral Reform Societies.[66] The significant difference, of course, was that Council needed to develop the justification for its position out of Judaism rather than Christianity. Guided by traditional Jewish attitudes, NCJW celebrated sexual intercourse as an expression of love but only within marriage.[67] It objected to the sexual double standard not because that standard demanded unfair chastity for

girls but because, it argued, promiscuous boys endangered the community by feeding the white slave trade, weakening family commitments, and carrying sexually transmitted diseases. Council's sex education materials observed that families could as easily be destroyed by a father's sexual transgressions as by a mother's, and that there had never been "a physical or moral reason for maintaining two standards as regards chastity, one for men and the other for women."[68] Council pamphlets consistently debunked traditional "scientific" arguments attributing the double standard to biology.

Yet, unlike feminists who rejected notions of complementary gender roles and argued for equality as a logical expression of the claim that, biologically, males and females were not significantly different,[69] NCJW continued to stress natural differences between the sexes in every area except sexual promiscuity. Council readily accepted America's division of labor that made care of home and children the central task of womanhood while holding man responsible for the financial support and public representation of his family. Council never explained why it could use innate sexual difference to justify leaving scholarly pursuits to men, for example, but would not accept similar justifications when examining sexual behavior.

Council never acknowleged this internal ideological contradiction, nor did it provide convincing arguments that society should not apply its widely accepted notion of divinely ordained separate spheres to chastity. However, its failure to change attitudes toward sexual behavior did not deter Council from addressing the problems of promiscuity from another angle. Recognizing that they were not likely to eliminate temptation, Council women sought to provide distractions. They organized social activities, arranged for free tickets to cultural events, sponsored athletic competitions, screened movies, brought in lecturers, and volunteered as Big Sisters.[70] They also sought to protect children from corruptive influences by pressing authorities to bar minors from risqué movies, dance halls, and vaudeville shows.[71] Even these comprehensive programs, however, could not keep away subversive influences, and some youths ended up in the court systems. Repeating their belief that delinquency resulted from circumstance rather than from innate character flaws, NCJW insisted that with proper supervision, defendants would not

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: The Jewish Communal Register, 732-743, 796-797, 836-839
This remarkable volume was produced in 1918 under the auspices of the New York Kehillah, a Jewish communal organization that was attempting to unify the disparate elements in the Jewish community. It is a compilation of all of the Jewish communal institutions in New York City and around the country. There were almost 4000 such organizations or one for every 375 Jews. The section reproduced describes the mutual aid societies, often known as *landsmanshaftn* which were created by immigrant Jews, especially those from East Europe to provide a range of benefits for their members. The members usually came from the same town or region in East Europe.

Suggested Uses: Immigration History (comparison to other immigrant groups and to the organizations of African-Americans), Urbanization (how would these organizations help immigrant Jews deal with the problems of living in the city?)

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Group work, having students read the introductory article and then having them examine selected mutual aid societies based on the questions below, followed by a discussion of the characteristics and attributes of these organizations
2) Teacher/student discussion based on the questions below
3) Group work comparing the groups of societies of different immigrant groups and African-Americans (see the documents in the Assignments section of this project on New York African Society for Mutual Relief, Grand Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Chan article on Asian groups, and the Congreso Mexicanista

Questions:
1) What were the purposes of these groups? (See the Key to Abbreviations to help you determine what services it offered).
2) What benefits did the author, Rosenblatt, see in these groups? What problems did he see for the future with these groups?
3) How many such societies existed? How large were these societies on average? What were annual dues on average?
4) Examining individual societies, describe the benefits that each offers, give the address (use this only if the teacher is familiar with New York City, but placing the locations on a map of New York City could lead to questions about the location of the Jewish immigrant population), characteristics of the President along with his address, and does the society belong to a larger federation (if so what does this mean?)
5) Comparison to other groups based on question 1 and Pedagogical Suggestion 3.

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Use the following mutual aid agencies_ as the basis for group work: Ackerman B.A. (F.B.O.), Adler's Young Men Ind. Ass'n., Belgoraer_Youg Men's Soc., Bessarabian Y.M. Ben. and Educational Club, Bielsker Bruderlicher U.V., Krementuger Ladies B.A., Zablotower Rabbi Mendel Hager K.U.V. (F.G.B.J.A.), Zitomirer U.V., and Zitomirer Ladies Ben. Soc. No. 1.

MUTUAL AID ORGANIZATIONS

By FRANK F. ROSENBLATT
Chief of Staff, Bureau of Philanthropic Research

As the name implies, mutual aid organizations were formed for the purpose of rendering aid to members, not as gratuitous charity, but as obligatory settlement of claims based on a mutual agreement as formulated in the constitution of the respective organizations or in the membership certificate. The functions of these societies include spiritual and social activities as well as the provision of material aid in emergencies arising from death, sickness and other causes of distress.

The burial clubs and the visitors of the sick, known in Hebrew as "Chevra Kadishah," and "Bikkur Cholim" Societies, represent the most common types of mutual aid. Notwithstanding their ancient origin, they have undergone little change both in the form of organization and in the practical application of their utilitarian objects. While not strictly exclusive, they are, nevertheless, somewhat clannish, owing to the fact that their membership is generally confined to Landsleute.

Quite a considerable number of such societies, however, have developed into Vereinen very much along the lines of the English Friendly Societies. Besides the duties of burying the dead and visiting the bereaved families of their members, besides the customary acquisition of a common cemetery and in some case of a house of worship, besides the payment of "death bene-

fit" insurance, they have adopted the modern features of "sick benefit" and of free loans. This form of mutual aid received *in this world* by the members themselves has become extremely popular among the immigrant Jews, many of them belonging to two and more societies.

The rapid growth of these societies presents a problem the gravity of which has not yet received due consideration from Jewish communal leaders. Like most of the fraternal organizations, commonly known as Orders, these mutual aid societies issuing sick and death benefit certificates pursue the unscientific and vicious policy of equal monthly or quarterly assessments without distinction as to age or occupation. The idea of seeking expert actuarial advice is entirely foreign to them, and no regard is paid to authoritative tables of mortality based on experiences of similarly circumstanced groups. The assessments or rates are fixed at meetings either arbitrarily or on the basis of death cases during the current year. While the society is young, the assessments corresponding with the low rate of mortality are easily borne by the member. The danger arrives with the older age of the society and the inevitable increase of mortality among its members. The assessments grow ever higher. The young members drop out, and the burden of paying death benefit falls on the old members who, as a rule, have been longest in the organization and are least able to stand the high cost of insurance.

This warning is particularly timely because of the fact that legislative regulations have been enacted in a

number of states tending to safeguard the interests of the members of Fraternal Orders.

The beneficient effects of the mutual aid societies are manifold. They find particular expression:

a. in the economic life;
b. in the social life; and
c. as a moral force.

Members of a mutual aid association need not have recourse to charity. The aid they get is considered by them as a refunded debt. The sense of humiliation, which must be experienced by everyone who extends a hand for charity, is substituted by a potent consciousness of fraternity and justice. This consciousness gives rise to the understanding of a higher social life and social responsibilities. The members of such an organization, aware of their economic interdependence, learn to appreciate the value of interchange of ideas.

The contact of men and women for mutual interests of an economic nature, teaches them to respond alike to like *stimuli* in social matters. Thus, we have, as a further sequence, the effect of mutual aid as a moral force. Few members would act in a way that would meet with resentment on the part of the bulk of their organization.

No attempt has ever been made to study the effect of mutual aid on charity, the effect as expressed in dollars and cents. Such statistics could be gathered, analyzed and important conclusions derived. It is a difficult task, but, if successfully carried out, it would greatly help in the proper solution of many a community problem.

TABLE OF MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES.

**Total Number of Societies Located and Investigated: 1016.
Data Available, to Date, on 632 Societies, 63% of the Total.**

		Number	Percent of Societies Reporting Data
Date Organized	Before 1881	9	1.5
	Between 1881 and 1901	205	33.6
	" 1902 " 1906	144	23.6
	" 1907 " 1911	97	15.9
	" 1912 " 1914	79	12.9
	" 1915 " 1917	75	12.3
Elections Per Year	One	63	10.3
	Two	551	89.7
Number of Members	Below 50	91	14.7
	From 50 to 99	231	37.5
	" 100 " 199	194	31.4
	" 200 " 299	56	9.1
	" 300 " 399	21	3.4
	" 400 " 499	10	1.6
	" 500 and over	15	2.4
	Total	88,187	
	Average	143	
Annual Dues	Below $3.00	15	2.5
	3.00	47	7.9
	4.00	40	6.7
	5.00	71	11.9
	6.00	133	22.8
	7.00	70	11.7
	8.00	93	15.6
	9.00	39	6.5
	10.00 and over	90	15.0
	Average Dues: $6.00		
Benefits	Sick Benefit	594	93.8
	Insurance	257	40.6
	Cemetery	517	81.8
	Synagogue	100	16.6
	Free Loan	217	34.3

BUDGET	Income	Expenditure
Number of Societies Reporting	628	476
Number of Members in those Societies	69,555	63,710
Total Income and Expenditure	$634,714	$454,494
Income and Expenditure per Society	$1,202	$955
Income and Expenditure per Member	$9.12	$7.13

On the basis of the societies reporting, it is fair to assume, that when full information is available on all societies there will be found to exist over 1,000 bona fide Mutual Aid Societies, having an aggregate membership of over 100,000 and an aggregate income of over $1,000,000, or $1,000 per society and $10 per member.

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LIST OF MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

B. A.=Benevolent Association. B. S.=Benevolent Society. F. B. O.=Federation of Bessarabian Organizations. F. G. B. J. A.=Federation of Galician and Bucovinean Jews of America. F. O. J. A.=Federation of Oriental Jews of America. F. R. J. A.=Federation of Roumanian Jews of America. F. R. P. H. A.=Federation of Russian-Polish Hebrews of America. K. U. V.=Kränken Unterstützungs Verein. S. B. A.=Sick Benefit Association. S. and B. S.=Sick and Benevolent Society. Y. M.=Young Men's.

Letters enclosed in paranthesis indicate the Verband with which the society is affiliated.

MANHATTAN AND BRONX

Ab. Steiner K. U. V. (F.R.J.A.). Sick benefit; cemetery; place of worship. Org. 1903. Membership: 75. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays at 57 Stanton St. Pres., Zedi Stainer, 247 Eldridge St. Sec'y, Marcus Stainer, 247 Eldridge St.

Stainer, Zedi, Pres. Ab. Steiner K. U. V. (57 Stanton St.), since 1915. Term 6 months. Born 1861 in Roumania. Came to U. S. 1890. Received general Jewish education. Tailor: 274 Eldridge St. Res.: 247 Eldridge St.

Achuzath Olam. Cemetery; free loan. Org. 1895. Membership: 100. Meetings: Every 4th Wednesday, at 206 E. B'way. Pres., Lazarus Lipshitz, 54 Henry St. Sec'y, E. Ushkopf, 256 Henry St.

Lipshitz, Lazarus, Pres. Achuzath Olam (206 E. B'way); elected 1917. Term 1 year. Born 1852 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1888. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 54 Henry St.

Ackerman B. A. (F. B. O.). Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1905. Membership: 107. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Thursdays, at 100 Essex St. Pres. Akiba Margolin, 2168 Dean St., B'klyn. Sec'y, Alexander Streicher, 2184 Dean St., B'klyn.

Margolin, Akiba, Pres. Ackerman B. A. (100 Essex St.), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1881 in Russia. Came

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to U. S. 1914. Received education in private school in Russia and U. S. Building Contractor. Res.: 2168 Dean St., B'klyn.

Adler's Young Men Ind. Ass'n. No. 1. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan; relief. Org. 1884. Membership: 769. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Mondays at 147 E. 125th St. Pres., Max Piermont, 926 E. 163rd St. Sec'y, M. Bissenarn, 976 Leggett Ave. **Piermont, Max,** Pres. Adler's Y. M. Ind. Ass'n. No. 1. (147 E. 125th Street), elected 1917. Term 1 year. Born 1884 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1892. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 926 E. 163rd St.

Adolph Ullman Aid Soc. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1898. Membership: 1,666. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Sundays, at 257 E. Houston St. Pres., Jacob Kafka, 114 Bay 11th St., B'klyn. Sec'y, A. Lowy, 135 Ave. D. **Kafka, Jacob,** Pres. Adolph Ullman Aid Society (257 E. Houston St.), since 1916. Term 1 year. Born 1859 in Hungary. Came to U. S. 1887. Received general Jewish education. Printer: 7 E. 14th St. Res.: 114 Bay 11th St., B'klyn.

Agudath Shom'rei Sabbath. Org. 1916. An organization of 300 delegates representing over 100 organizations of Sabbath observers. Meetings: Every 2nd Monday, at 122 Ridge St. Pres., Selnvil Feigenbaum, 81 Lewis St. Sec'y, M. Blasband, 25 Pitt St.

Feigenbaum, Selnvil, Pres. Agudath Shom'rei Sabbath (122 Ridge St.), since 1916. Term 1 year. Born 1861 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1887. Received general Jewish education. Ladies' waists: 149 Spring St. Res.: 81 Lewis St.

Algonquin Ben. Society. Sick benefit. Org. 1912., Membership: 50. Meets: 1st and 3d Tuesdays, at 10 W. 114th St. Pres., Joseph Pineles. Sec'y, Joseph Binder, 106 E. 111th St.

American Benevolent Minsker Ass'n. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1899. Membership: 500. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Wednesdays, at 98 Forsyth St. Sec'y, Harris Scheiner, 28 Orchard St.

American Brothers' Aid Ass'n. Sick benefit; insaurance; cemetery. Org. 1890. Membership: 120. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Saturdays, at 81 Forsyth St. Pres., L. Karash, 179 W. 89th St. Sec'y, M. Plaine, 906 Union Ave.

American Ugoscia Y. M. A. S. Sick benefit. Org. 1914. Membership: 130. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Sundays, at 10 Ave. D. Pres., Benjamin Jacobo-

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witz, 426 E. 79th St. Sec'y, Jacob Brown, 127 E. 7th St. Jacobowitz, Benjamin, Pres. American Ugoscia Y. M. Aid Soc. (10 Avenue D.); elected 1911. Term 6 months. Born 1882 in Hungary. Came to U. S. 1909. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 426 E. 79th St.

Amshinaver Ind. B. S. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1916. Membership: 40. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Sundays, at 96 Clinton St. Pres., K. Yoslinowitz, 1223 Foster Ave., B'klyn. Sec'y, A. Jacobs, 204 S. 1st St., B'klyn.

Anikster U. V. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1898. Membership: 200. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 175 E. B'way. Pres., Sam Hechter, 842 Myrtle Ave., B'klyn. Sec'y, David Meltz, 1274 Stebbins Ave.

Hechter, Morris, Pres. Anikster U. V. (175 E. B'way); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1875 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1906. Received general Jewish and secular education. Real estate. Res.: 842 Myrtle Ave., B'klyn.

Chevrah Anshei Sadolover. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1887. Membership: 45. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 209 E. B'way. Pres., Jacob L. Samchick, 1947 7th Ave., Sec'y, Joseph Sandler, 545 Atlantic Ave., B'klyn.

Arion K. U. V. Sick benefit; cemetery; charity. Org. 1884. Membership: 180. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Tuesdays, at 326 E. Houston St. Pres., Isaac Ungar, 725 E. 9th St. Sec'y, Adolph Moskowitz, 2306 7th Ave.

Ungar, Isaac, Pres. Arion K. U. V. (326 E. Houston St.), since 1916. Term 1 year. Born 1865 in Hungary. Came to U. S. 1882. Received general Jewish education. Painter. Res.: 725 E. 9th St.

Atavier Y. M. and Y. L. B. A. Cemetery. Org. 1916. Membership: 70. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Tuesdays, at 214 E. 2nd St. Pres., Morris Kliette, 703 E. 5th St. Sec'y, Arthur Sokol, 739 E. 5th St.

Kliette, Morris, Pres. Atavier Y. M. and Y. L. B. A. (214 E. 2nd St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1894 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1914. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 703 E. 5th St.

Austrian Y. M. Ass'n No. 1. Sick benefit, insurance, cemetary. Org. 1891. Membership 90. Meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays at 218 E. 2nd St. Pres., Louis Mandel, 101 Cannon St. Sec'y, Nathan Cohen, 645-7 E. 5th St.

Mandel, Louis, Pres. Austrian Y. M. Ass'n No. 1 (218 E. 2nd St.), since 1916. Term

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6 months. Born 1875 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1889. Received Hebrew education. Tailor. Res.: 101 Cannon St.

Axis B. S. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1910. Membership: 200. Meetings: 2nd Thursday at 27 W. 115th St. Pres., Gustave Levine, 2268 Washington Ave. Sec'y, Hyman Swaap, 498 Claremont Parkway.

Levine, Gustave, Pres. Axis B. S. (27 W. 115th St.), since 1913. Term 1 year. Born 1870 in Germany. Came to U. S. 1871. Received general education. Res.: 2268 Washington Ave.

Babroisher. Sick benefit, insurance, cemetery. Org. 1908. Membership 298. Meets 1st and 3d Fridays at 175 E. B'way. Pres., R. Suskin, 174 Broome St. Sec'y, F. Seldin, 1 E. 106th St.

Batker U. V. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1890. Membership: 120. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Thursdays, at 206 E Broadway. Pres., Samuel Byalistoker, 268 Broome St. Sec'y, M. Weinberg, 690 Gates Ave., B'klyn.

Byalistoker, Samuel, Pres. Batker U. V. (206 E. B'way), since 1914. Term 6 months. Born 1869 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1889. Received general Jewish education. Mfgr. wax figures. Res.: 268 Broome St.

Beer Shewa Ben. and Burial Ground Soc. Sick benefit, cemetery. Org. 1865. Membership: 47. Meetings: 4th Wednesdays, at 27 W. 115th St. Pres., I. Vogel, 37 South Bond St., Mt. Vernon. Sec'y, Max Taterka, 473 E. 139th St.

Belgoraer Young Men's Soc. Sick benefit. Org. 1915. Membership: 50. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Tuesdays at 83 Clinton St. Pres., Max Undanck, 94 Goerck St. Sec'y, Hyman Salzman, 83 Pitt St.

Undanck, Max, Pres. Belgoraer Young Men's Society (83 Clinton St.); elected 1917. Terms 6 months. Born 1895 in Poland. Came to U. S. 1912. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 94 Goerck St.

Ben. Ladies' Soc. of Harlem. Sick benefit; insurance. Org. 1903. Membership: 80. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Wednesdays, at 10 W. 114th St. Pres., Morris Bardach, 1171 Bryant Ave. Sec'y, Mrs. Irma Winick, 25 E. 112th St.

Bardach, Morris, Pres. Ben. Ladies' Soc. of Harlem (13 W. 114th St.), since 1915. Term 6 months. Born 1855 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1896. Received general Jewish and secular education. Painter. Res.: 1171 Bryant Ave.

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Ben. Geller Ass'n. Free loan. Org. 1913. Membership: 80. Meetings: Every Sunday, at 186 E. Houston St. Pres., Israel Shubert, 56 E. 104th St. Sec'y, J. Kaplan, 307 E. 21st St.

Shubert, Israel, Pres. Benj. Geller Ass'n (186 E. Houston St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1879 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1902. Received general Jewish education. Fruit dealer. Res.: 56 E. 104th St.

Bereziner K. U. V. Sick benefit; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1912. Membership: 225. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Saturdays, at 209 E. B'way. Pres., Rubin Horowitz, 524 Blake Ave., B'klyn. Sec'y, Sol Zimkind, 295 So. 2nd St., B'klyn.

Horowitz, Rubin, Pres. Bereziner K. U. V. (209 E. B'way), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1889 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1905. Received general education. Insurance: 151 Montague St., B'klyn. Res.: 524 Blake Ave., B'klyn.

Berliner and Lonker Y. M. Ass'n. Sick benefit; cemetery. Org. 1914. Membership: 50. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Mondays, at 223 E. 2nd St. Pres., Max Stern, 374 E. 10th St. Sec'y, Benjamin Brier, 96 Lewis St.

Stern, Max, Pres. Berliner and Lonker Y. M. Ass'n (223 E. 2nd St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1891 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1910. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 374 E. 10th St.

Bessarabian Ladies' U. V. Sick benefit; cemetery. Org. 1897. Membership: 25. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Tuesdays, at 56 Orchard St. Pres., Philip Reines, 282 S. 2nd St., B'klyn. Sec'y, S. Carduner, 72 W. 118th St.

Reines, Philip, Pres. Bessarabian Ladies' U. V. (56 Orchard St.), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1862 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1888. Received general Jewish and secular education. Commission Merchant: 78 Orchard St. Res.: 282 S. 2nd St., B'klyn.

Bessarabian Y. M. Ben. and Educational Club. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1903. Membership: 250. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Mondays, at 210 E. 5th St. Pres., Simon Saffer, 46 Union Ave., B'klyn. Sec'y, Samuel Friedman, 1734 Park Place, B'klyn.

Saffer, Simon, Pres. Bessarabian Y. M. B. and Educational Club (210 E. 5th St.). Term 6 months. Born 1880 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1901. Received College education. Pharmacist. Res.: 46 Union Ave., B'klyn.

Betty Weiss S. and B. A. Sick benefit, cemetery. Org.

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1904. Membership 80. Meets 2nd and 4th Tuesdays at 106 Forsyth St. Pres., Betty Weiss, 22 Eldridge St. Sec'y, Isaac Posner, 182 Allen St.

Weiss, Betty, Pres. Betty Weiss S. and B. A. (106 Forsyth St.), since 1913. Term 6 months. Born 1885 in Roumania. Came to U. S. 1889. Received general education. Mfgr. Neckwear: 17 Allen St. Res.: 22 Eldridge St.

Bessaner Soc. Sick benefit. Org. 1903. Membership 35. Meets 4th Sunday at 100 W. 118th St. Pres., Isaac Wasserzug, 13 W. 113th St. Sec'y, Jacob Hymes, 20 W. 115th St.

Bialystoker Ladies' Aid Soc. Org. 1904. Membership: 100. Meets: 2nd and 4th Wednesdays, at 83 Forsyth St. Pres., Louis Cohen, 360 Grand St. Sec'y, A. Yanowsky, 23 Willett St.

Bialistoker Young Men's. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1906. Membership: 300. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Tuesdays, at 175 E. B'way. Pres., Ralph Wein, 1464 Seabury Pl. Sec'y, A. S. Fins, 173 Eldridge St.

Wein, Ralph, Pres. Bialistoker Young Men's (175 E. B'way), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1887 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1903. Attended High School. Printer: 151 E. 23rd St. Res.: 1464 Seabury Pl.

Bielsker Brüderlicher U. V. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1888. Membership: 285. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Saturdays, at 206 E. B'way. Pres., Nathan Berger, 67 Meserole St., B'klyn. Sec'y, Julius Sokol, 2065 Bergen St., B'klyn.

Berger, Nathan, Pres. Bielsker Brüderlicher U. V. (206 E. B'way); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1867 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1887. Received general Jewish education. Mfgr. Cigars. Res.: 67 Meserole St., B'klyn.

Bikur Cholim Anshei Bialostok. Relief. Meetings: Every Thursday, at 246 E. B'way. Pres., Joseph Lipnick, 64 E. 94th St. Sec'y, D. L. Rubinstein, 40 W. 117th St.

Lipnick, Joseph, Pres. Bikur Cholim Anshei Bialostok (246 E. B'way), since 1902. Term 1 year. Born 1864 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1886. Received general Jewish education. Drygoods: 22 E. B'way. Res.: 64 E. 94th St.

B'nai David Society. Social and benevolent; cemetery. Inc., 1858. Membership, 100. Meetings at 107 W. 116th St. Pres., Ely Rosenberg, 340 B'way. Sec'y, Samuel R. Morris, 151 W. 117th St.

Chevrah B'nai Joseph Aryel Anshei Ratno Wohlin. Insurance; cemetery. Org. 1906. Membership: 90. Meet-

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ings: 1st and 3rd Saturdays, at 98 Forsyth St. Pres., Solomon Friedman, 141 Lafayette St., Jersey City, N. J. Sec'y, Isidor Rosen, 334 E. 8th St.

Friedman, Solomon, Chevrah B'nai Joseph Aryei Anshei Ratno Wohlin (98 Forsyth St.), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1889 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1910. Received general Jewish education. Watchmaker. Res.: 141 Lafayette St., Jersey City, N. J.

Bobriker Ladies' Aid Society. Cemetery. Org. 1901. Membership: 90. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Saturdays, at 67 Clinton St. Pres., J. Essner, 372 Hooper St., B'klyn. Sec'y, K. Harris, 130 Allen St.

Essner, J., Pres. Bobriker Ladies' Aid Soc. (67 Clinton St.), since 1901. Term 6 months. Born 1859 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1889. Received general Jewish education. Designer. Res.: 372 Hooper St., B'klyn.

Bobruaker Ladies' U. V. Free loan. Org. 1913. Membership: 40. Meets at 203 Henry St. Pres., Barnett Epstein, 511 W. 177th St. Sec'y, W. Lipshitz, 84 Monroe St.

Epstein, Barnett, Pres. Bobruaker Ladies' U. V. (203 Henry St.), since 1914. Term 6 months. Born 1883 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1890. Received general Jewish education. Tailor. Res.: 511 W. 177th St.

Bodker Y. M. A. A. Sick benefit; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1905. Membership: 40. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 96 Clinton St. Pres., Morris Rosen, 313 E. 3rd St. Sec'y, Morris Blum, 6 Willett St.

Rosen, Morris, Pres. Bodker Y. M. A. A. (96 Clinton St.); elected 1917. Terms 6 months. Born 1882 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1903. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 313 E. 3d St.

Bogopoler U. V. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1893. Membership: 300. Meets: 2nd and 4th Saturdays, at 151 Clinton St. Pres., Frank Krevoruck, 240 Tesla Pl., Glendale, L. I. Sec'y, Mayer Feldman, 2 Market St.

Krevoruck, Frank, Pres. Bogopoler U. V. (151 Clinton St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1872 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1887. Received college education. Lawyer: 220 B'way. Res.: 240 Tesla Pl., Glendale, L. I.

Boherodesaner K. U. V. (F. G. B. J. A.) Sick benefit; cemetery; place of worship; free loan. Org. 1898. Membership: 133. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Sundays, at 214 E. 2nd St. Pres., Abraham Rosenblum, 221 E. 66th St. Sec'y, Hyman Schultz, 328 E. 15th St.

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Rosenblum, Abraham, Pres. Bohorodczaner K. U. V. (214 E. 2nd St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1882 in U. S. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 221 E. 66th St.

Bolchover Ladies' K. U. V. Sick benefit; cemetery; charity. Org. 1903. Membership: 52. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Wednesdays, at 276 E. Houston St. Pres., Matilda Messner, 4 W. 32nd St. Sec'y, Isaac Gross, 376 E. 4th St.

Messner, Matilda, Pres. Bolchover Ladies' K. U. V. (276 E. Houston St.), since 1908. Term 1 year. Born 1877 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1903. Received general Jewish education. Restaurant. Res.: 4 W. 32nd St.

Borisover Young Friends' B. A. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1914. Membership: 115. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Saturdays, at 173 E. B'way. Pres., Aaron Horowitz, 112 Sutter Ave., B'klyn. Sec'y, Max Yarose, 60 E. 98th St.

Horowitz, Aaron, Pres. Borisover Young Friends' Ben. Ass'n (173 E. B'way); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1884 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1904. Received general Jewish education. Carpenter. Res.: 112 Sutter Ave., B'klyn.

Borochavner Chevrah. Sick benefit; cemetery; place of worship; Orphan Asylum; Jewish School. Org. 1909. Membership: 75. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Sundays, at 214 E. 2nd St. Pres., A. Rosenblum, 278 E. 3rd St. Sec'y, Hyman Schulz, 215 E. 15th St.

Botashaner Y. M. B. A. (F. R. J. A.). Sick benefit; cemetery. Org. 1909. Membership: 73. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 98 Forsyth St. Pres., Adolph Siegel, 68 Forsyth St. Sec'y, H. Berkowitz, 123 Chrystie St.

Siegel, Adolph, Pres. Botashaner Y. M. B. A. (98 Forsyth St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1886 in Roumania. Came to U. S. 1902. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 68 Forsyth St.

Brainsker Brothers Aid Ass'n. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1895. Membership: 162. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Saturdays, at 173 E. B'way. Pres., Aaron Sandler, 5 Lewis St. Sec'y, Julius Cohen, 523 Saratoga Ave., B'klyn.

Sandler, Aaron, Pres. Brainsker Brothers' Aid Ass'n (173 E. B'way); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1866 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1893. Received general Jewish and secular education. Res.: 5 Lewis St.

Brainsker Y. M. B. A. Sick benefit; insurance; ceme-

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Krassnapoler Y. M. A. S. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1904. Membership: 60. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Saturdays, at 151 Clinton St. Pres., Harris Levine, 232 Monroe St. Sec'y, F. Levy, 276 Madison St.

Levine, Harris, Pres. Krassnopoler Young Men's Aid Soc. (151 Clinton St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1877 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1903. Res.: 232 Monroe St.

Krementuger Ladies' B. A. Sick benefit; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1900. Membership: 80. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Wednesdays, at 152 Clinton St. Pres., Mrs. Mary Brodsky, 460 Grand St. Sec'y, Leah Breada, 202 So. 2nd St., B'klyn.

Brodsky, Mary, Pres. Krementuger Ladies' B. A. (152 Clinton St.), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1864 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1889. Received general Jewish education. Installment business. Res.: 460 Grand St.

Kremenetzer-Wohliner B. A. Sick benefit; cemetery. Org. 1915. Membership: 55. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Thursdays, at 82 Clinton St. Pres., Benjamin Barshop, 919 Forest Ave. Sec'y, H. Courtman, 213 E. 7th St.

Barshop, Benjamin, Pres. Kremenetzer-Wohliner B. A. (82 Clinton St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1886 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1903. Received general Jewish and secular education. Cabinet Maker: 6 E. 12th St. Res.: 919 Forest Ave.

Krynicaer Y. M. B. S. Sick benefit; cemetery. Org. 1895. Membership: 440. Meetings: Every Thursday, at 214 E. 2nd St. Pres., Jacob Graff, 113 Rodney St., B'klyn. Sec'y, H. Riegelhaupt, 341 E. Houston St.

Graff, Jacob, Pres. Krynicaer Y. M. B. S. (214 E. 2nd St.), since 1915. Term 6 months. Born 1853 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1890. Received general Jewish education. Clothier: 157½ Stanton St. Res.: 113 Rodney St., B'klyn.

Kulikower K. U. V. Sick benefit; cemetery; place of worship. Org. 1903. Membership: 83. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Saturdays, at 66 Clinton St. Pres., Edward Osterman, 522 E. 147th St. Sec'y, A. Adler, 1361 Brook Ave.

Kupiner-Podoler M. A. Soc. Sick benefit; cemetery. Org. 1914. Membership: 50. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 193 E. 2nd St. Pres., Max Kuperamith, 639 E. 9th St. Sec'y, Hyman Fleishman, 316 E. 14th St.

Kuperamith, Max., Pres. Kupiner-Podoler M. A. Soc. (193 E. 2nd St.), since 1914. Term 6 months. Born 1872

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in Russia. Came to U. S. 1910. Received a thorough Jewish education. Rabbi. Res.: 639 E. 9th St.

Kurinitzer and Velleker B. A. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; place of worship; free loan. Org. 1906. Membership: 35. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 116 Monroe St. Pres., Aaron Gordon, 58 E. 3rd St. Sec'y, Abraham Zuckerman, 311 Madison St.

Gordon, Aaron. Pres. Kurinitzer and Velleker B. A. (116 Monroe St.), since 1915. Term 1 year. Born 1875 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1900. Received general Jewish and secular education. Contractor. Res.: 58 E. 3rd St.

Kurlander Ladies' Aid Society. Sick benefit. Org. 1897. Membership: 70. Meets: 1st and 3d Saturdays, at 100 W. 116th St. Pres., Mrs. Lena Schatz, 907 Tinton Ave. Sec'y, Mrs. Sarah Henschel, 68 W. 127th St.

Labousker Y. M. B. A. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1907. Membership: 175. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Saturdays, at 175 E. B'way. Pres., Louis Levine, 37 Gouverneur St. Sec'y, Alex. Rubin, 747 E. 182nd St.

Levine, Louis, Pres. Labousker Y. M. B. A. (175 E. B'way), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1880 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1896. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 37 Gouverneur St.

Ladies' Auxiliary of the F. R. J. A. Place of worship: charity. Org. 1907. Membership: 200. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Mondays, at 106 Forsyth St. Pres., Mrs. Beckie Zucker, 73 First St. Sec'y, Mrs. Fannie Bornstein, 200 W. 145th St.

Zucker, Beckie, Pres. Ladies' Aux. of the F. R. J. A. (185 Forsyth St.), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1880 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1902. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 73 1st St.

Ladies Chevrah T'hilim Soc. of Harlem. Provides a Minyan during week of mourning. Org. 1910. Membership 100. Meets Saturdays at 1364 5th Ave. Pres., Mrs. Ida Cohen, 1363 5th Ave. Sec'y, Mr. Sachs, 2 E. 112th St.

Cohen, Mrs. Ida, Pres. Ladies Chevrah T'hilim Soc. of Harlem (1364 5th Ave.), since 1909. Term 1 year. Born 1859 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1893. Received general education. Res.: 1363 5th Ave.

Ladies' Ozerkover A. B. Sick benefit. Org. 1911. Membership: 50. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 326 E. Houston St. Pres., Isidore Cubelsky, 847 De Kalb Ave.,

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37 W. 110th St. Sec'y, Joseph Harrison, 4108 15th Ave.

Young Men's A. S. of Harlem. Cemetery. Org. 1907. Membership: 54. Meets 2nd and 4th Sundays, at 62 E. 106th St. Pres., Morris Belowitz, 5 E. 104th St. Sec'y, Morris Koholowsky, 119 E. 104th St.

Belowitz, Morris, Pres. Y. M. A. S. of Harlem (62 E. 106th St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1885 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1899. Received common school education. Fruit Dealer. Res.: 5 E. 104th St.

Young Men's Moses Mendelssohn B. A. Sick benefit; cemetery; relief. Org. 1902. Membership: 83. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Mondays, at 81 Forsyth St. Pres., Samuel Silver, 176 Eldridge St. Sec'y, A. Abramowitz, 4 St. Pauls Pl.

Silver, Samuel, Pres. Young Men's Moses Mendelssohn B. A. (81 Forsyth St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1882 in Roumania. Came to U. S. 1909. Received general Jewish and secular education. Salesman. Res.: 176 Eldridge St.

Young Workingmen's Sick and B. S. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1903. Membership: 300. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 8 Ave. D. Pres., Hyman Fisch, 230 E. Houston St. Sec'y, J. Brown, 287 E. 7th St.

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Fisch, Hyman, Pres. Young Workingmen's Sick and B. S. (8 Ave. D); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1875 in Hungary. Came to U. S. 1897. Received general education. Res.: 230 E. Houston St.

Yunover Y. M. B. A. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1906. Membership: 185. Meetings: Every Thursday, at 8 Ave. D. Pres., Samuel Stern, 69 Mangin St. Sec'y, B. Unterhalter, 295 Rivington St.

Stern, Samuel, Pres. Yunover Y. M. B. A. (8 Ave. D); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1885 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1908. Received general Jewish education. Tailor. Res.: 69 Mangin St.

Zablotower Rabbi Mendel Hager K. U. V. (F. G. B. J. A.) Sick benefit; cemetery; place of worship; free loan. Org. 1892. Membership: 190. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Saturdays, at 96 Clinton St. Pres., Meyer Dunst, 102 Norfolk St. Sec'y, Jacob Rosenbaum, 302 E. 2nd St.

Dunst, Meyer, Pres. Zablotower Rabbi Mendel Hager K. U. V. (96 Clinton St.), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1888 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1901. Received general Jewish education. Insurance: 135 Rivington St. Res.: 102 Norfolk St.

Zakretchiner B. S. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery;

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free loan. Org. 1887. Membership: 100. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Sundays, at 73 Ludlow St. Pres., Hyman Cohen, 137 Pitt St. Sec'y, Joseph Sobel, 2013 Bryant Ave., B'klyn.

Cohen, Hyman, Pres. Zakrotchiner B. S. (73 Ludlow St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1865 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1882. Received general Jewish and secular education. Res.: 137 Pitt St.

Zaleszyser K. U. V. (F. G. B. J. A.) Sick benefit; Org. 1896. Membership: 175. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Wednesdays, at 223 E. 2nd St. Pres., B. Schoenholtz, 1636 Washington Ave. Sec'y, J. Esnech, 338 E. 4th St.

Schoenholtz, B., Pres. Zaleszyzer K. U. V. (223 E. 2nd St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1874 in Austria. Came to U. S. 1904. Received general Jewish education. Tinsmith. Res.: 1636 Washington Ave.

Zamescher Prog. Y. M. B. A. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1906. Membership: 130. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Fridays, at 80 Clinton St. Pres., Isidore Schatzkamer, 32 St. Marks Pl. Sec'y, P. Hackman, 103 Ave. D.

Schatzkamer, Isidore, Pres. Zamescher Prog. Y. M. B. A. (32 Clinton St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1888 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1905. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 32 St. Marks Pl.

Zamishter Ind. Sick and B. S. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1904. Membership: 60. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 3 Ave. D. Pres., Jacob Freiman, 84 Columbia St. Sec'y, Sam Orlinsky, 134 Pitt St.

Freiman, Jacob, Pres. First Zamishter Ind. Sick and B. A. (3 Ave. D); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1881 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1903. Received general education. Res.: 84 Columbia St.

Zaromber Prog. Young Friends' B. A. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org.: 1913. Membership: 135. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Mondays, at 206 E. B'way. Pres., David Cohen, 97 S. 8th St., B'klyn. Sec'y, H. Stuginsky, 1776 20th Ave., B'klyn.

Cohen, David, Pres. Zaromber Prog. Y. F. B. A. (206 E. B'way); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1888 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1905. Received education in evening school. Res.: 97 S. 8th St., B'klyn.

Zekefher-Fedeier K. U. V. Cemetery. Org. 1915. Membership: 52. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Mondays, at 209 E. 2nd St. Pres., Samuel Pollack, 1918 New Utrecht Ave.,

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B'klyn. Sec'y, Alexander Trachman, 332 E. 9th St.

Pollack, Samuel, Pres. Zekefker-Podoler K. U. V. (309 E. 2nd St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1862 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1887. Received general Jewish education. Tailor. Res.: 5918 New Utrecht Ave., B'klyn.

Zelver B. S. Cemetery. Org. 1911. Membership: 50. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Saturdays, at 79 Forsyth St. Pres., Philip Lazaroff, 1909 3rd Ave. Sec'y, L. Lipshitz, 1090 Simpson St.

Lazaroff, Philip, Pres. Zelver B. S. (79 Forsyth St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1868 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1900. Received general Jewish and secular education. Res.: 2909 3rd Ave.

Zgierser Ben. Soc. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery; free loan. Membership: 100. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Tuesdays, at 14 W. 114th St. Pres., I. Harris, 19 W. 112th St. Sec'y, J. Fetbrandt, 1431 5th Ave.

Harris, Isidore, Pres. Zgierser B. A. (14 W. 114th St.), since 1916. Term 1 year. Born 1866 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1892. Received general Jewish education. Tailor: 762 West End Ave. Res.: 19 W. 112th St.

Zinkover Podolia U. V. Cemetery. Org. 1909. Membership: 40. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Saturdays, at 85 E. 4th St. Pres., Joseph Rosenthal, 549 E. 11th St. Sec'y, Mr. Salzman, 324 E. 21st St.

Rosenthal, Joseph, Pres. Zinkover Podolia U. V. (85 E. 4th St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1874 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1904. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 549 E. 11th St.

Zion's Bruder Bund (P. G. B. J. A.) Sick benefit; cemetery. Org. 1887. Membership: 200. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Tuesdays, at 30 E. 1st St. Pres., Samuel Kroll, 1545 Fulton Ave. Sec'y, Louis Diamond, 86 2nd Ave.

Kroll, Samuel, Pres. Zion's Bruder Burd (30 E. 1st St.), since 1915. Term 6 months. Born 1883 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1897. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 1545 Fulton Ave.

Zitomirer U. V. Sick benefit; cemetery; place of worship; free loan; insurance. Org. 1893. Membership: 175. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Wednesdays, at 79 Forsyth St. Pres., Hyman Magida, 1336 Washington Ave. Sec'y, Morris Glazer, 230 E. 14th St.

Magida, Hyman, Pres. Zitomirer U. V. (79 Forsyth St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1868 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1891. Received general Jewish and secular

education. Res.: 1336 Washington Ave.

Zitomirer Ladies' Ben. Soc. No. 1. Sick benefit; cemetery; relief for members. Org. 1896. Membership: 160. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Tuesdays, at 77 Delancey St. Pres., Mrs. Rachel Goldberg, 89 E. 2nd St. Sec'y, Mrs. M. Rosenker, 221 E. B'way.

Goldberg, Mrs. Rachel, Pres. Zitomirer Ladies' B. S. (77 Delancey St.), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1860 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1890. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 89 E. 2nd St.

Zloczower K. U. V. Sick benefit; cemetery; place of worship. Org. 1897. Membership: 195. Meetings: Every 2nd Saturday, at 328 E. Houston St. Pres., Meyer Schnee, 349 E. 3rd St. Sec'y, Jonas Zwickel, 172 Norfolk St.

Schnee, Meyer, Pres. Zloczower K. U. V. (328 E. Houston St.), since 1908. Term 6 months. Born 1877 in Galicia. Came to U. S. 1892. Received general Jewish education. Carpenter. Res.: 349 E. 3rd St.

Zlotopoler Y. M. Ass'n. Sick benefit; cemetery; free loan. Org. 1902. Membership: 76. Meetings: 2nd and 4th Sundays, at 83 Forsyth St. Pres., Louis Luboff, 628 Cleveland St., B'klyn. Sec'y, Joseph Frankle, 1778 Park Pl., B'klyn.

Luboff, Louis, Pres. Y. M. A. (83 Forsyth St.), since 1916. Term 6 months. Born 1881 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1902. Received general Jewish and secular education. Salesman. Res.: 628 Cleveland St., B'klyn.

Zmerenker Y. M. B. A. Cemetery. Org. 1917. Membership: 20. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Saturdays, at 193 E. 2nd St. Pres., Hyman Rechlis, 195 E. 2nd St. Sec'y, Jacob Meisel, 193 Stockton St., B'klyn.

Rechlis, Hyman, Pres. Zmerenker Y. M. B. A. (193 E. 2nd St.); elected 1917. Term 6 months. Born 1888 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1903. Received general Jewish education. Res.: 195 E. 2nd St.

Z'ror Hachaim Constantinople (F. O. J. A.) Sick benefit; cemetery. Org. 1914. Membership: 35. Meets every month at 173 Eldridge St. Pres., N. Eskenazi, 1347 Prospect Ave. Sec'y, M. Gueron, 173 Eldridge St.

Zwienegroder Soc. Sick benefit; insurance; cemetery. Org. 1906. Membership: 100. Meetings: 1st and 3rd Sundays, at 206 E. B'way. Pres., Hyman Chudnoff, 100 E. 2nd St. Sec'y, Isidor Silver, 161 Broome St.

Chudnoff, Hyman, Pres.

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Zwienegroder Soc. (208 E. B'way), since 1915. Term 6 months. Born 1858 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1903. Received general Jewish and secular education. Launderer. Res.: 100 E. 2nd St.

ADEQUATE INFORMATION IS LACKING ON THE FOLLOWING SOCIETIES:

Abe Glaserman Society, meets at 135 Rivington St. 1st and 3rd Tuesdays.

Adjutoral Bukaristor Workingmen S. B. A. (F. R. J. A.), meets at 66 E. 4th St. 2nd and 4th Saturdays. Pres., H. Moskowits, 79 Rivington St.

Adolph Forigang Ind. Lodge, 220 E. 15th St.

Almatiboveh Y. M. B. A., meets at 30-32 Clinton St. 1st and 3rd Sundays.

Alfred Benjamin S. B. S. (F. R. F. H. A.), meets at 79 Forsyth St. 2nd and 4th Wednesdays. Sec'y, A. Harris, 404 Pulaski St., B'klyn.

Alpha Lodge, meets at 69 St. Marks Pl.

American Hebrew A. S., meets at 1943 Madison Ave. 2nd and 4th Thursdays.

Anglo-American Society, meets at 257 E. Houston St. 1st and 3rd Mondays.

Antipoler Ladies, meets at 206 E. B'way,

Arbeiter K. U. V., meets at 257 E. Houston St. 2nd and 4th Mondays.

Architect Lodge, meets at 165 E. 58th St. 1st and 3rd Wednesdays.

Atlas Rebecca Lodge, meets at 205 E. 67th St.

Averbach Sinatymer Ladies' Society, 276 E. Houston St.

Austrian-American Y. M. and Y. L., meets at 257 E. Houston St. 2nd and 4th Fridays.

Baccster, meets at 93 Forsyth St.

Baranover L. S., meets at 8-10 Ave. D, 2nd and 4th Tuesdays.

Barnett Gympel, meets at 257 E. Houston St. 2nd and 4th Saturdays.

Bessarabian K. U. V. (F. B. O.), meets at 77 Delancey St. 2nd and 4th Saturdays. Sec'y, S. Kielkin, 368 Grand St.

Beth Jacob Society, meets at 108 W. 116th St. 3rd Sunday Afternoon.

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Beth Joseph Society, meets at 100 W. 116th St. 3rd Thursday.

Bialo Ladies' U. V. (F. R. P. H. A.) Sec'y. Mrs. Feldman, 131 Division Ave., B'klyn.

Bialystoker Somach Noflim U. V., meets at 227 E. B'way 1st and 3rd Sundays. Pres., Joseph Lipnik.

Bilsker K. U. V., 213 Broome St.

Blumen K. U. V. (F. R. P. H. A.) Sec'y. L. Horowitz, 606 E. 9th St.

B'nai Ephraim Society, meets at 100 W. 116th St. 4th Sunday.

B'nath Jacob K. U. V., meets at 149 Attorney St. Alternate Saturdays.

Bogoslover, meets at 90-96 Clinton St. Thursdays Weekly.

Bohislover B. S., 77 Delancey St.

Botharon Friedman Society, meets at 151 Clinton St. 1st and 3rd Sundays.

Brulia Y. L. Auxiliary B. A., meets at 79-81 Forsyth St. Pres., Wm. Baxter.

Brunk Warschauer Y. M., meets at 145 Suffolk St. 2nd and 4th Thursdays.

B. R. E. Koropyce A., meets at 257 E. Houston St. 1st and 3rd Wednesdays.

Bielskar Young Men's U. V., meets at 131 Essex St. 1st and 3rd Saturdays.

Brenzner Society, meets at 214 E. 2nd St. 2nd and 4th Sundays.

Bruennner Young Men's, meets at 23 Ave. A. 1st and 3rd Mondays.

Brother United V., meets at 79-81 Forsyth St. 2nd and 4th Saturdays.

Brzezower Branch K. U. V. (F. G. B. J. A.), meets at 77 Sheriff St. 2nd and 4th Sundays. Sec'y. H. Feiteherlich, 90 Goerck St.

Brzezower K. U. V. (F. G. B. J. A.), meets at 123 Essex St. 1st and 3rd Saturdays. Sec'y. B. Bruckner, 1491 Brook Ave.

Bucurbar Y. M. B. S., First, Pres., L. Weschler, 51 Sheriff St.

Cathrower Ind. Frauen (F. G. B. J. A.), meets at 115 Rivington St. 1st and 3rd Sundays.

Centennial Society, meets 210-212 E. 104th St. 4th Wednesday.

Ceres Frauen Verein, meets at 1943 Madison Ave. 1st and 3rd Thursdays.

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ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "Hui in China and in the United States," "Ko in Japan and in the United States," " Esusu in Africa, Britain, and the Americas," and "Rotating Credit as a Tradition of Enterprise," in Light, Ethnic Enterprise in America, 23-36. Light's sociological study is a comparison of ethnic enterprise among the Chinese, Japanese, and African-Americans in the United States. A major focus of the work is to understand why economic entrepreneurship seems more common among the Chinese, Japanese, and blacks of West Indian heritage than African-Americans born in the United States. This particular section is a discussion of rotating credit associations found among the Chinese, Japanese, and West Indian blacks. The last section of the reading is a brief assessment of the impact of the credit association on the ability of minority groups to obtain credit.

Suggested Uses: Immigrant History (how do groups adapt to the United States?), African-American History (what are differences and similarities between native-born and foreign born African-Americans?), Asian-American History

Pedagogical Suggestions:
1) Group work
2) Teacher/student discussion based on the questions below
3) Biopoem on an institution

Questions:
1) What are the origins of the rotating credit associations among the Chinese, Japanese, and West Indian blacks?
2) What is the author's suggestion about why native-born blacks do not have such rotating credit associations? (For a possible type of rotating credit association, found certainly in Harlem at one time, ask students to investigate what were known as 'rent' parties).
3) What were the purposes of these rotating credit associations?
4) Why did immigrant groups use them in the United States?
5) Make a comparison of the rotating credit groups discussed in this reading with the Hebrew free loan societies which were organized among Jewish immigrants. How do such groups differ from each other? Do you see any similarities among the groups? (Material on the free loan societies is in the Assignments section of this project).
6) How do these associations reflect an effort at self-help and mutual aid?

to the urban population, Chinese and Japanese in California transacted nearly eight times more cash business with non-Orientals alone than did all Negro-owned retail business in Illinois. Hence, the special consumer demands of the Chinese and Japanese populations obviously do not completely account for the Orientals' margin of retail sales superiority in 1929.

The still popular consumer-demands argument assumes that apart from their culturally determined preferences for chop suey or pork chops, there were no culturally-derived differences in the economic behavior of foreign-born Orientals and native-born blacks. This assumption is harmonious with the notion of an underlying economic man but is otherwise demonstrably inadequate. It would have been surprising indeed if Chinese, for example, had brought to the Gold Mountain only an interest in Chinese commodities and had left behind Chinese styles of economic organization. In fact, the Chinese brought with them both their culturally derived consumer preferences and their culturally preferred style of economic organization. One such preference was a penchant for partnerships rather than solo entrepreneurships. Preferences such as this have economic consequences. But the consumer-demands theory ignores culturally derived differences in economic organization even though it pays ample attention to culturally derived consumer preferences. In sum, the consumer-demands explanation is correct but inadequate; it is but one part of a larger, sociological explanation.

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Rotating Credit Associations

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The single most prominent argument advanced to explain the black American's underrepresentation in small business has fastened on his special difficulty in securing business loans from institutional lenders, especially from banks. This explanation is 200 years old.[1] It asserts that, because of poverty, lack of capital, and inability to borrow, blacks have been unable to finance business ventures. In its most straightforward form, this argument holds that black business failed to develop because prejudiced white bankers were unwilling to make business loans to black applicants at all or were willing to make loans but only on terms very much less favorable than those extended to white borrowers with equivalent business credentials. In a more sophisticated version, the argument maintains that black borrowers were relatively disadvantaged in the capital market simply by virtue of their impoverishment and the marginal status of their businesses. Impecunious blacks opening solo proprietorships were objectively higher risks than were the typically wealthier whites operating larger businesses. Hence, quite apart from discriminatory treatment at the hands of white bankers, blacks did not receive loans at all or received them only at a higher price than did whites. The humble stature of black business implicated borrowers in a vicious cycle of smallness, credit difficulties, smallness.

However, the discrimination-in-lending theory has lately lost the preeminent place it formerly occupied among explanations of Negro business retardation. In the first place, studies of small businessmen have shown that, contrary to expectation, loans from institutions have been relatively insignificant among the financial resources actually employed by proprietors in the capitalization of small firms. Only a small percentage of proprietors have reported seeking or obtaining bank loans in order to open a small business; by far the

[1] Abram L. Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist*, p. 22; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 2d ed. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1963), p. 309.

greater percentage rely entirely on their personal resources, especially their own savings, and loans from kin and friends: "Small new enterprises are financed primarily by owners, their relatives and friends, and by suppliers of materials and equipment. Banking institutions extend only slight accommodation to small new businesses."[3] These findings do not support the familiar argument that institutional discrimination in lending produced black difficulties in small business. On the contrary, these findings suggest that even had racial discrimination been exceptionally severe in commercial lending, it could have had only a minor impact. Since bank credit has been so insignificant a resource for new proprietors in general, even complete denial of bank credit could hardly account for the Negro's singular difficulties in small business.[5]

Reviewing the relevant arguments, Gunnar Myrdal observed that "the credit situation has certainly been one of the major obstacles barring the way for the Negro businessman." Yet Myrdal also complained that the credit theory appeared highly inadequate when the Negro's actual involvement in small business was contrasted with that of foreign-born whites, and especially with that of Americans of Japanese or Chinese descent.[4] If discrimination in lending accounted for black underrepresentation in business, then the Orientals ought also to have been underrepresented relative to more advantaged foreign-born whites. In turn, one would expect the foreign-born whites to have been underrepresented relative to native-born whites. If smallness or poverty accounted for the Negro's difficulties in securing commercial loans, then smallness ought to have interfered with foreign-born whites and Orientals as well. But, in fact, both foreign-born whites and Orientals were overrepresented in business relative to native whites, who presumably suffered no discrimination in lending. If Orientals and foreign-born whites were able to over-

[3] Alfred R. Oxenfeldt, *New Firms and Free Enterprise* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943), pp. 146, 160. Also see Kurt B. Mayer and Sidney Goldstein, *The First Two Years* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Small Business Administration, 1961), p. 53; Joseph A. Pierce, *Negro Business and Business Education*, pp. 187–88.

[5] Eugene P. Foley, *The Achieving Ghetto* (Washington, D.C.: National Press, 1968), pp. 136–40.

[4] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 1:308, 314.

come these handicaps, then why were black Americans not also able to surmount them?

Accounting for these anomalies has necessitated a reconsideration of black business history in which the emphasis has shifted from financial to social causes. E. Franklin Frazier's "tradition-of-enterprise" hypothesis stands out as the general paradigm for research in this area: "Although no systematic study has been undertaken of the social causes of the failure of the Negro to achieve success as a businessman, it appears from what we know of the social and cultural history of the Negro that it is the result largely of the lack of traditions in the field of business enterprise."[5] "Experience in buying and selling" was apparently the tradition Frazier thought relevant, for he explicitly deemphasized the role played by "such economic factors as . . . availability of capital," evidently because of Myrdal's earlier critique.

In his discussion of Negro business, Eugene Foley has followed Frazier's lead in interpreting Negro business from the perspective of traditions; however, Foley singled out a different tradition: "In the final analysis, the fundamental reason that Negroes have not advanced in business is the lack of business success symbols available to them."[6] Foley's theory has an advantage of concreteness relative to Frazier. However, Foley's view of the relevant traditions is flimsy and probably incorrect, for there is a very old tradition of successful Negro businessmen in the United States. This tradition is, to be sure, one of successful individuals, rather than one based on collective experience. But it is withal a tradition that offers "business success symbols" to Negroes. Around the turn of the century Booker T. Washington undertook an energetic campaign to bring these black entrepreneurs to popular attention. But the subsequent decline of Negro business despite the vigorous turn-of-the-century popularization of business success symbols suggests that the problems of Negro business were independent of popularized success symbols.

[5] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, pp. 410–11.
[6] Eugene P. Foley, "The Negro Businessman: In Search of a Tradition," p. 124. Cf. Booker T. Washington, *The Negro in Business* (Boston: Hertel, Jenkins, 1907), *passim*.

ROTATING CREDIT ASSOCIATIONS

Regarding questions of finance as purely economic and, therefore, beyond the pale of sociological analysis, Frazier failed to follow up lines of inquiry suggested by his own conclusion. That is, Frazier did not inquire into cultural traditions relevant to the capitalization of small business even though he had himself singled out "tradition" as of overriding importance in accounting for Negro underrepresentation in business. Recent anthropological studies of economic development have generated renewed scholarly interest in traditions of informal financial cooperation in many areas of the non-Western world. Although these are practical economic traditions, they are a part of functioning cultures. Hence they are of sociological as well as of economic interest. These informal methods of financial cooperation are of considerable importance in fulfilling Frazier's program of research, because they constitute concrete traditions relevant to the financing of small business enterprises.

Although the details of such financial cooperation differ by region, Clifford Geertz has shown that a basic model can be extracted from the manifest diversity of ethnic customs. This basic model he has appropriately labeled the "rotating credit association."[7] In a comprehensive review of rotating credit associations throughout the world, Shirley Ardener has agreed with Geertz that basic principles of rotating credit can be extracted from the diversity of customs, but she has slightly restated the formula for expressing the essential rotating credit idea. She defines it as "an association formed upon a core of participants who agree to make regular contributions to a fund which is given, in whole or in part, to each contributor in rotation."[8] Within the limits of the rotating credit association as defined, Ardener was also able to specify the axes of variation which distinguish local customs from one another. That is, local rotating credit associations frequently differ with regard to membership size and criteria of membership, organization of the association, types of funds, transferability of funds, deductions from the fund, and sanc-

[7] Clifford Geertz, "The Rotating Credit Association: A 'Middle Rung' in Development," p. 213.

[8] Shirley Ardener, "The Comparative Study of Rotating Credit Associations," p. 201. Italicized in original.

tions imposed on members. But despite variations in these important respects, the rotating credit association may be taken as a generic type of cooperative financial institution. In many parts of the non-Western world, this type of association serves or has served many of the functions of Western banks. Such associations are, above all, credit institutions which lend lump sums of money to members. In this activity, rotating credit associations are found frequently to "assist in small scale capital formation."[9]

Of especial importance to this discussion are the rotating credit associations of southern China, Japan, and West Africa. Immigrants to the United States from southern China and Japan employed traditional rotating credit associations as their principal device for capitalizing small business. West Indian blacks brought the West African rotating credit association to the United States; they too used this traditional practice to finance small businesses. American-born Negroes apparently did not employ a similar institution. Hence, the rotating credit association suggests itself as a specific tradition in the field of business which accounts, in some measure, for the differential business success of American-born Negroes, West Indian Negroes, and Orientals.

HUI IN CHINA AND IN THE UNITED STATES

The generic term for the Cantonese rotating credit association is *hui*, which means simply "association" or "club." Several variants of hui existed in China, but the rotating credit principle was everywhere strongly pronounced. Such associations are thought to be about 800 years old in China.

D. H. Kulp described a simple form of hui used in southern China.[10] Greatly more complex variants of hui also existed; but the simple lottery scheme described by Kulp illustrates the basic principle of the Cantonese hui. A person in need of a lump sum of money would take the initiative in organizing a hui by securing from friends or relatives an agreement to pay a stipulated sum of money—say,

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[10] Daniel H. Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, 1:190ff.; also see Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1946), p. 391; Max Weber, *The Religion of China*, p. 99; Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), p. 215.

$5—every month into a common pool. In a hui of ten members, the organizer himself received the first lump sum created, or $50, which he employed as he pleased. A month later the organizer held a feast in his home for the ten contributors. At the feast the ten members again contributed $5 each to create a fund of $50. A lottery determined which member (excluding the organizer) would receive the lump sum. Since a member could receive the lump sum only once, at each subsequent feast the pool of members still in the lottery narrowed until, finally, at the tenth feast the outstanding member automatically received the lump sum of $50. The organizer never contributed to the money pool; his repayment was exclusively in the form of the ten feasts, each of which was supposed to have cost him $5. At the conclusion of the ten feasts, each member would have dribbled away $55 in cash and would have received one lump sum of $50 and ten 50-cent feasts. Also, the organizer of the hui had received the interest-free use of $50 when he needed it, eight of the ten members had received an advance on their contribution (credit), and all of the participants had enjoyed ten sumptuous feasts in convivial company.

If the membership chose, a hui could be organized on less benevolent lines. Instead of a lottery to determine which member of the club would take the pot, each eligible member might submit a sealed bid indicating how much interest he was prepared to pay to have the use of the money.[11] The high bidder received the pot. This system of hui operation placed a clear premium on not needing the money. Those who wanted the money in the early rounds of the hui would have to compete and pay a high interest. On the other hand, wealthier members who were not in need of money could collect the high interest paid by members who needed the use of their surplus. This form of hui created an investment opportunity for the wealthy and tended to enlist the profit motive in the extension of credit. Of course, even in this more capitalistic form of mutual aid, the interest actually paid by members in need of money tended to be less than what they would have paid for equivalent funds obtained from the town moneylender.

[11] Hsiao-tung Fei, *Peasant Life in China*, pp. 273ff.

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Cantonese in the United States employed the hui as a means of acquiring capital for business purposes.[13] The extent of the practice is impossible to ascertain with precision, but the evidence suggests that the traditional hui was widely used and of first importance in the funding of small business enterprises. An early reference to what was probably a hui is found in Helen Clark's discussion of Chinese in New York City;[14] however, the earliest discovered reference to what was certainly a Cantonese hui appears in Helen Cather's history of the Chinese in San Francisco:

> The Chinese have a peculiar method of obtaining funds without going to commercial banks. If a responsible Chinaman needs an amount of money, he will organize an association, each member of which will promise to pay a certain amount on a specified day of each month for a given length of time. For instance, if the organizer wants $1,300 he may ask 12 others to join with him and each will promise to pay $100 each month for 13 months. The organizer has the use of the $1,300 the first month. When the date of the meeting comes around again, the members assemble and each pays his $100, including the organizer. All but the organizer, who has had the use of the money, bid for the pool. The man paying the highest bid pays the amount of the bid to each of the others and has the money. This continues for 13 months. Each man makes his payment each month but those who have already used the money cannot bid for it again. By the end of the 13-month period, each will have paid in $1,300 and have had the use of the whole amount.[15]

Cather did not name the institution she described, but it was clearly a Cantonese hui of the bidding type. In regard to the origins of the practice, she learned from informants that "This is a very old Chinese custom and is still [1932] practiced by the Chinese in San Francisco. Since a man may belong to several of these associations at one time, it is not hard for a Chinaman to secure funds on short notice, for he

[13] Chinese immigrants in Britain have also employed the device for this purpose. See Maurice Broady, "The Chinese in Great Britain," in *Colloquium on Overseas Chinese*, ed. Morton H. Fried (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1958), p. 32.

[14] Helen F. Clark, "The Chinese of New York Contrasted with Their Foreign Neighbors," *Century* 53 (November 1896): 110.

[15] Helen Virginia Cather, "The History of San Francisco's Chinatown" (1932), pp. 60–61.

can estimate from past bids about how much he must bid to secure the money."[15]

In his history of San Francisco's Chinatown, Richard Dare mentions the *yueh-woey* custom which was frequently used to secure business capital.[16] Like the institution described by Cather, Dare's yueh-woey was of the bidding and interest-paying type. In New York City's Chinatown, Virginia Heyer also found a bidding type of hui in operation. Memberships were usually limited to persons from the same village in China:

> Sometimes members of small associations form loan societies to provide capital for fellow members who hope to start businesses. Each member contributes a fixed amount of money to a common fund. The one who offers the highest rate of interest in secret bid gets to borrow the whole fund, though first he must repay the full interest. . . . This method of financing business ventures was frequent in the past, but in recent years [1953] it is said to have been less common.[17]

Betty Lee Sung has recently described a hui of the bidding type which was popular among the Chinese in New York before 1950. One hundred members of the hui (all of the same clan) paid $10 a week for 100 weeks. Each week members bid for the $1,000 pot. If there were no bidders, a lottery among the outstanding members determined which one would receive the total fund subscribed at a stipulated low rate of interest. The hui described by Sung did not include conviviality, and the number of members greatly exceeded that characteristic of the hui in South China. In American Chinatowns, the hui had evidently become more commercial and less fraternal: "The *hui* in effect served as a systematic savings method for the thrifty and as a source of credit for those who needed a lump sum in cash for business or other reasons. Few Chinese utilized American banks."[18] The economic importance of the hui in the

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[16] Richard Kock Dare, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of the San Francisco Chinese for the Past Fifty Years" (M. A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1959), pp. 12–13.

[17] Virginia Heyer, "Patterns of Social Organization in New York City's Chinatown" pp. 60–61.

[18] Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold*, pp. 141–42.

Chinese-American small business economy was emphasized by Gor Yun Leong, who observed that, "without such societies, very few businesses could be started."[19]

KO IN JAPAN AND IN THE UNITED STATES

Variously called *ko*, *tanomoshi*, or *mujin*, the Japanese form of the rotating credit association was probably adapted in the thirteenth century from the Chinese institution.[20] In Japan, ko clubs among rural villagers included from twenty to fifty persons, whereas, according to Hsiao-tung Fei, the Chinese hui normally included only eight to fourteen persons. Unlike the hui, the Japanese institution sometimes included unrelated persons. Ko clubs met twice yearly, but the hui met monthly. Since the ko typically included more members than the hui, the Japanese clubs sometimes carried on as long as twenty years before each of the participants had received his portion. Ko was an extremely popular financial institution in rural Japan as late as the 1930s. According to John Embree, richer villagers and those in special need of funds belonged to several clubs. More of the villagers' money was tied up in ko than in commercial banks, credit unions, or postal savings.

Both a bidding system and a lottery system of ko were practiced.[21] Only the bidding system provided for the payment of interest by early drawers to late drawers. Under the rules of the bidding system, an organizer would receive the first portion. Meetings were held at the organizer's residence where refreshments were served and business was combined with sociability. At the second meeting, bidders

[19] Gor Yun Leong, *Chinatown Inside Out* (New York: Barrows Mussey, 1936), pp. 177–78; also see Paul C. P. Siu, "The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1953), pp. 112, 116–17. For a novelist's treatment of *hui* among immigrant Chinese in New York City, see Lin Yutang, *Chinatown Family* (New York: John Day, 1948), pp. 249–50.

[20] John F. Embree, *Suye Mura*, pp. 138ff.; Koichi Hosono, "Outline of Small Business Financing in Japan," in *Small Business in Japan*, ed. Tokutaro Yamanaka (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1960), pp. 339–40. Also see Hugh T. Patrick, "Japan, 1868–1914," in *Banking in the Early Stages of Industrialization*, ed. Rondo Cameron et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 243.

[21] Sometimes the bidding and lottery forms were combined so that half of the pots were allocated on the basis of bidding and half on a lottery basis. See Guenther Stein, "Made in Japan—I," *Forum* 94 (November 1935): 290–94.

for the combined fund indicated the amount of payment they were willing to receive from the other participants. The lowest bidder received the fund thus created. Having once received the fund, persons were obligated to pay back at the regular meetings the full stipulated contribution. Thus, as the ko wore on, fewer and fewer persons were bidding for the fund and fewer and fewer could be released by a low bid from the necessity of paying back the stipulated rate.

In the United States the memberships of ko associations were usually composed of immigrants from the same prefecture or village in Japan. Religious organizations, Buddhist and Christian alike, also organized clubs for the benefit of their congregants. But congruent with the Japanese traditions of neighborliness, neighborhood and friendship groups also started clubs. Although the larger ko clubs required each member to furnish guarantors, the meetings of the clubs were social as well as financial occasions. Sake was served before dinner and members entertained one another with friendly conversation. Interest payments were tendered as gifts rather than as payments for the use of money.[22]

In Hawaii, northern California, and the Pacific Northwest, Japanese settlers referred to the rotating credit associations as *tanomoshi*. In southern California the term *mujin* prevailed. Exactly how extensively these clubs were used is difficult to ascertain, but Fumiko Fukuoka referred to the mujin as "a common and popular form of mutual financial aid association among the Japanese in Southern California." She observes that this "ancient form of mutual aid association" had been "brought to America by the Japanese immigrants."[23] Of foreign-born Japanese sampled in California in the course of a 1965–66 survey, almost one-half reported having participated in some form of economic combination involving the pooling of money. Of the participating half, 90 percent had taken part in a tanomoshi.[24] According to Embree, Hawaiian Japanese

[22] Bradford Smith, *Americans from Japan* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1948), p. 58; Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity Among the Japanese in Seattle*, pp. 75–76.

[23] Fumiko Fukuoka, "Mutual Life and Aid Among the Japanese of Southern California," p. 33.

[24] John Modell, "The Japanese of Los Angeles," p. 95.

organized tanomoshi which met monthly rather than biannually as in Japan and in which larger sums were invested.[25]

In 1922 Schichiro Matsui charged that white-owned banks in California discriminated against Japanese businessmen and farmers. Nonetheless, the tanomoshi permitted Japanese to capitalize business enterprises on their own. "Very popular among the Japanese in every line of trade," the tanomoshi was helpful because "a merchant without security may thus obtain credit."[26] Two decades later S. F. Miyamoto also stressed the economic importance of tanomoshi among Japanese in Seattle:

> Few [Japanese] . . . were able to expand their business individually to any great extent. Possibly without a system of cooperative financing the Japanese would not have developed the economic structure that they did. Fortunately, they met their needs through adaptations of Japanese customs, such as the money-pool known as the *tanomoshi*. . . . It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which such pools were used by the Japanese immigrants . . . but from the wide-spread recognition of its use, it was probably no inconsequential part of their financing practices. The largest hotel ever attempted by the Japanese, a transaction involving some $90,000, . . . was financed on the basis of a *tanomoshi*.[27]

Commentators agreed that the rotating credit associations were more popular with Japanese of the immigrant generation than with their American-born offspring, the nisei, especially those with college degrees. For purposes of financing business operations, the nisei preferred the impersonal credit union or savings and loan association.[28] According to a nisei informant, Japanese in the San Francisco Bay region no longer employ the tanomoshi for purposes of business capitalization. However, the custom survives. Its purposes

[25] John F. Embree, "Acculturation Among the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 39 (1941): 91.
[26] Schichiro Matsui, "Economic Aspects of the Japanese Situation in California," pp. 86–87.
[27] Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity*, p. 75; also see Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans*, pp. 19–20.
[28] Ruth Masuda, "The Japanese Tanomoshi," *Social Process in Hawaii* 3 (May 1937): 19; Smith, *Americans*, p. 58; Modell, "The Japanese," p. 96.

are now social, and only small sums are invested. This information agrees with the findings of Minako Kurokawa's recent study of Japanese small businessmen in San Francisco. She noted that, as a source of business capitalization, "the traditional institution of mutual aid [tanomoshi] . . . was not mentioned by respondents."[29] On the other hand, a nisei informant in Los Angeles claims to be personally involved in an on-going tanomoshi, the members of which are still principally interested in securing capital for business purposes. According to this informant, the custom remains very widespread among Japanese in Los Angeles and retains its business significance.

ESUSU IN AFRICA, BRITAIN, AND THE AMERICAS

Anthropological research has documented the existence of rotating credit associations in many parts of Africa, including West Africa from which the progenitors of American Negroes were abducted as slaves. Although the details of administration and organization differ substantially among African regions and peoples, the essential rotating credit principle is virtually ubiquitous. However, one such rotating credit institution, the Nigerian *esusu*, is of especial importance here because of its historical influence on Negro business in the Americas. The esusu developed in southeastern Nigeria among the Yoruba people. Among the Yoruba's northern neighbors, the Nupe, the rotating credit institution is known as *dashi*, but the Nupe's custom differs little from the Yoruba's.[30] The antiquity of the esusu has not yet been finally established, but researchers are of the opinion that the custom was indigenously African. Certainly the Yoruba esusu existed as early as 1843, for it is mentioned in a Yoruba vocabulary of that date. In Sierra Leone, thrift clubs of some sort existed as early as 1794, but they cannot be positively identified as organized on the rotating credit principle.[31]

In his discussion of Yoruba associations, A. K. Ajisafe provides

[29] Minako Kurokawa, "Occupational Mobility Among Japanese Businessmen in San Francisco" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1962), p. 70.

[30] S. F. Nadel, *A Black Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 371–73; also see P. C. Lloyd, "The Yoruba of Nigeria," in *Peoples of Africa*, ed. James L. Gibbs (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), p. 559; Kenneth Little, *West African Urbanization*, p. 51; Michael Banton, *West African City* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 187–88.

[31] Ardener, "Comparative Study," p. 209.

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a statement of the esusu institution which summarizes its formal operation:

> There is a certain society called Esusu. This society deals with monetary matters only, and it helps its members to save and raise money thus: Every member shall pay a certain fixed sum of money regularly at a fixed time (say every fifth or ninth day). And one of the subscribing members shall take the total amount thus subscribed for his or her own personal use. The next subscription shall be taken by another member; this shall so continue rotationally until every member has taken.[32]

In the principle of pooling funds and rotating the pot among the membership, the Yoruba esusu does not differ from either of its Oriental counterparts; however, in common practice, it exhibits some idiosyncracies. As W. R. Bascom observed, "anyone who wishes to do so may found an *esusu* group, provided that others are willing to entrust their money to him."[33] But the organizer or president of the esusu needed only to be known; he did not need to know all of the members personally. Once an organizer had announced his intention to sponsor an esusu, persons willing to entrust their money to him indicated a willingness to join. Such personal acquaintances of the organizer, if accepted, became in turn heads of "roads." There were as many separate roads as there were persons who had directly contacted the organizer and had been scrutinized and accepted by him. As heads of roads, these personal acquaintances of the organizer were entitled to contact their own friends and kin concerning membership in the esusu. Heads of the roads normally were responsible for "collecting the contributions and making the disbursements within their subgroups which consist of members who have applied to them rather than to the founder for admission." In this manner the Yoruba esusu delegated responsibility for the integrity of all members from the original organizer to managers known and appointed by and accountable to him.

The Yoruba esusu was apparently carried to the Americas by African slaves. Indeed Bascom bases his argument for the indigenous

[32] A. K. Ajisafe, *Laws and Customs of the Yoruba People* (London: George Routledge, 1924), pp. 48–49.
[33] William R. Bascom, "The *Esusu*: A Credit Institution of the Yoruba," p. 64.

African origins of the esusu on the persistence in the West Indies of the same custom among the descendants of slaves. An early reference mentions the practice of *asu* in the British Bahamas in 1910:

> Another method of promoting thrift is apparently of Yoruban origin. Little associations called "Asu" are formed of one or two dozen people who agree to contribute weekly a small sum toward a common fund. Every month (?) the amount thus pooled is handed to a member, in order of seniority of admission, and makes a little nest-egg for investment or relief. These "Asu" have no written statutes or regulations, no regular officers, but carry on their affairs without fraud or miscalculation.[84]

In the Trinidad village studied by M. J. Herskovits, residents referred to their rotating credit association as *susu*. As Herskovits observed, the term is clearly a corruption of the Yoruba word esusu. Trinidadians originally from Barbados and Guiana told Herskovits of the form of the susu in their birthplaces. In Barbados the rotating credit association was commonly known as "the meeting" and in Guiana as "boxi money."[85] According to Herskovits, the Trinidadian susu "takes the form of a cooperative pooling of earnings by those in the group, so that each member may benefit by obtaining in turn, and at one time, all the money paid in by the entire group on a given date. Members may contribute the same amount. The total of the weekly contribution . . . is called 'a hand.' "[86]

Jamaicans refer to their rotating credit association as "partners." The partners in Jamaica is headed by a "banker" and the membership is composed of "throwers." In operation the club is apparently identical to the susu of Trinidad. In the Jamaican setting, however, members apparently used their partnership portions for business capitalization, whereas rural Trinidadians appear to have made use of the fund only for consumption purposes. Many Jamaican petty traders used their partnership "draw" to restock their stalls with imported goods for which they were required to pay cash. The part-

[84] Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), p. 303.
[85] Melville J. Herskovits, *Trinidad Village*, p. 292.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

nership constituted the "most important source of capital for petty traders."[87]

West Indian migration to the United States commenced around 1900 and continued until 1924. In 1920, at the peak of the immigration, foreign-born Negroes, almost exclusively West Indians, numbered 73,803, of whom 36,613 resided in New York City. Most of these migrants came from the British West Indies. West Indians in Harlem distinguished themselves from native-born Negroes by their remarkable propensity to operate small business enterprises.[88] The West Indians, W. A. Domingo observed, "are forever launching out in business, and such retail businesses as are in the hands of Negroes in Harlem are largely in the control of the foreign-born."[89] Moreover, the West Indians were more aggressive than the native-born Negroes in their choice of self-employment enterprises. Whereas native-born Negroes tended only to open noncompetitive service enterprises, the West Indians operated grocery stores, tailor shops, jewelry stores, and fruit vending and real estate operations in which they undertook direct competition with whites doing business in the ghetto. Only the Bajan, it was said, could withstand the competition of the Jew.

The thriftiness of the West Indians provoked resentment on the part of American-born Negroes who regarded the West Indians as stingy and grasping. Some of the West Indians' thrift expressed itself in patronage of orthodox savings institutions, especially the postal savings. However, the West Indians in Harlem also employed the traditional susu credit institution as a savings device. According to Amy Jacques Garvey, higher status West Indian migrants of urban origin "acquired the habit of accumulating capital" through the part-

[87] Margaret Katzin, " 'Partners': An Informal Savings Institution in Jamaica," pp. 436–40.

[88] This difference was persistently noted so long as West Indians remained a distinctive part of the Harlem population. See George Edmund Haynes, *The Negro at Work in New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912), p. 101; Gary Ward Moore, "A Study of a Group of West Indian Negroes in New York City" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1923), p. 26; Ira De A. Reid, *The Negro Immigrant*, pp. 120–21; Claude McKay, *Harlem: Negro Metropolis*, pp. 92–93; Roi Ottley, *New World A-Coming* (New York: World, 1943), p. 46; Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 133.

[89] W. A. Domingo, "The Tropics in New York," *Survey* 53 (March 1, 1925): 648–50.

ners system from enforced contact with lower status West Indians of rural origins. Mrs. Garvey adds that in Harlem, "Women were mostly active in running the [partners] system—being bankers and collectors. Some 'threw a regular hand' for their husbands or brothers to enable them to operate small businesses. Later, the West Indian shopkeepers, barbers, etc. operated bigger 'pools' for setting up or capitalizing existing small business, or buying homes."[40] The partners draw also permitted a West Indian to purchase passage for relatives to the United States and to finance the secondary education of their children in the islands. As to the extensiveness of the practice of partners in Harlem, Mrs. Garvey observes that "the 'partners' system was fairly widespread in the 1920's and 1930's, but the Depression lessened its usage."

The significance of the partners as a factor in West Indian saving is further illustrated by postwar British West Indian migration to Britain. As in Harlem during the first several decades of the century, West Indians in Britain attracted attention because of their extraordinary frugality. Observers noted that West Indian migrants tended to "economize to a much greater extent than comparable English income groups." Investigating the savings habits of London's Jamaicans, Hyndman reported that the traditional partners played the leading role:

> Methods of saving vary, but the most prevalent is the friendly cooperative effort normally referred to by Jamaicans as "partner." Other names for similar systems in the Eastern group of islands are "Sousou," "chitty," "syndicate." This is a simple method based on mutual trust between friends and relations, and complete confidence in the man or woman who is organizer—fifteen or twenty people pay a weekly sum of between one pound and five pounds to the organizers. Either by drawing lots or by prior arrangement, the total amount at the end of each week goes to one of the twenty. . . . In some instances the weekly payments necessitate a strenuous savings effort, but in most cases the "partners" is carried on time and again with satisfaction on all sides.[41]

[40] Personal communication of February 12, 1968. For a novelist's treatment of West Indian life in Harlem, see Paule Marshall, *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, (New York: Random House, 1959).

[41] Albert Hyndman, "The West Indian in London," p. 74.

R. B. Davison's sample of Jamaican migrants in Britain also disclosed the persistence of the partners custom. At the end of the first year after arrival, 25 percent of Jamaicans sampled reported that they were presently involved in a partners or had recently been so involved. Other Jamaicans reported that they would participate in partners if only they could find an on-going group with a reliable membership and banker. One Jamaican claimed to be still participating by mail in a partners in Jamaica. "The urge to engage in some form of cooperative savings," observed Davison, "is strong among at least a substantial minority of the Jamaican community."[42]

As in the United States, West Indians in Britain evinced a strong interest in real estate investment. In providing financial resources for such investment, the partners played a major role. Hyndman found that, by means of continuous participation in the partners, Jamaicans became able to "command a large sum of ready cash," which often provided "the initial payment on a house" or the passage to Britain of a family member. Racial discrimination in housing rentals apparently influenced the Jamaicans' schedule of priorities. West Indians scrimped in order "to achieve property ownership because of the difficulties experienced in providing adequate accommodation" for themselves and their families. Jamaicans came to own a substantial amount of real property in a relatively short time, especially in view of their impoverished origins. Of Davison's sample of Jamaicans, 75 percent were residing in houses "as tenants of Jamaican landlords."[43] Jamaican-owned housing thus clearly encompassed almost enough units to house the entire Jamaican population. Virtually all of this real estate had, of course, been purchased since 1945.

ROTATING CREDIT AS A TRADITION OF ENTERPRISE

The employment of the esusu by West Indian migrants in Harlem and again in Britain illustrates the manner in which a traditional economic custom encouraged the business activities of immigrants. The process was much the same among Chinese, Japanese, and West

[42] R. B. Davison, *West Indian Migrants*, pp. 95–96, 102–03.

[43] The extent of business self-employment among West Indians in Britain is, however, less clear. Hyndman reported a few "one man or family businesses" ("West Indian," pp. 71–72). But Davison's sample turned up only one "successful, self-employed immigrant" (*West Indian*, p. 110).

Indians. But unlike any of these immigrant groups, American-born Negroes in the United States did not employ any rotating credit institution, apparently because this African economic custom had vanished from their cultural repertoire. Since ethnographic accounts of black life in the United States did not consciously investigate the persistence of the Yoruba esusu or its variants, only negative evidence for this proposition exists. That is, lack of reference to rotating credit associations among Negroes in the United States may be taken as prima facie evidence that such practices were not, in fact, employed.[44] Students of this question have thus far been unable to locate any instance of rotating credit practices among American-born Negroes. Even Herskovits made no mention of rotating credit associations in the United States, although his own research in Trinidad had awakened him to the persistence of this Africanism.[45]

The persistence of the rotating credit associations among Chinese, Japanese, and West Indians provides tangible support for E. F. Frazier's contention that tradition played a critical role in the business success of "other alien groups" and that a lack of traditions inhibited Negro-owned business in the United States. Moreover, it makes possible an understanding of why racial discrimination in lending affected American-born Negroes more deleteriously than it did Orientals and foreign-born Negroes. Unlike the Chinese, Japanese, and West Indians, American-born Negroes did not have the rotating credit tradition to fall back on as a source of capital for small business enterprises. Hence, they were especially dependent on banks and lending companies for credit; and when such credit was for one reason or another denied, they possessed no traditional resources for making do on their own.

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES AND IN THE UNITED STATES

The absence of the rotating credit association among American-born Negroes probably involves a cultural disappearance in that the custom was very likely known to blacks brought as slaves to North America. Strongly prevailing scholarly opinion does maintain that

[44] Ardener, "Comparative Study," p. 208.
[45] Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, p. 165.

Yoruba slaves brought the custom of esusu to the West Indies, but the possibility cannot be ruled out that free African laborers imported the custom after emancipation in 1838. Moreover, in the present state of knowledge, it cannot positively be asserted that rotating credit institutions existed on the western coast of Africa prior to 1834, although they probably did. Since most slave trading was conducted prior to 1834, the supposition that African slaves carried the esusu with them to the New World depends on the existence of the custom in West Africa during the slaving period.[46]

If, however, slaves did carry the esusu with them to the New World, then the nonexistence of the rotating credit institution among blacks in the United States suggests a genuine cultural disappearance. West Indian and American slaves did not differ in the African regions from which they were abducted.[47] Indeed, the West Indies served as a "seasoning" place for slaves ultimately sold in the American South. The West Indian or American destination of abducted blacks was, in effect, random in respect to region of African origin. Whatever the tribal and ethnic mélange of blacks in North America, a similar distribution doubtless characterized the West Indian blacks.[48] Accordingly, social conditions in the British West Indies and in the southern portion of the United States presumably account for the persistence of the esusu only in the islands.

In accounting for the survival of the esusu in the Caribbean and its apparent demise in the United States, the "bedrock" facts are those of demography. Throughout the slavery period the black population of the Caribbean islands dramatically exceeded the white population. "West Indian planters," remarks W. D. Jordan, "were lost not so much in the Caribbean as in a sea of blacks."[49] This demographic situation in the Indies contrasted vividly with that in

[46] Ardener, "Comparative Study," pp. 204, 209.

[47] Herskovits, *Myth*, p. 43. Moreover, rotating credit institutions are found widely in West Africa today. If the institution were equally ubiquitous during the slaving period, then all slaves would presumably have known the custom, regardless of specific tribal affiliations or regional origins.

[48] James P. Comer, "The Social Power of the Negro," *Scientific American*, 216 (April 1967): 21–27.

[49] Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 141, 175–76; Franklin, *From Slavery*, p. 65 (see n. 1 above); Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (New York: Random House, 1946), pp. 6–7.

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "Forward" and "Various Trades of Borrowers[1913]," in Joselit, Lending Dignity, iii-v, 17, and "Free Loan Societies" and "The Credit Union Movement Among The Jews Of new York City," in The Jewish Communal Register, 689-695, 727-731.
Joselit's work is a history of the Hebrew Free Loan Society to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of its founding in 1892. The forward of this work is a brief history of the institution, and a document from 1913 lists the occupation of some of the borrowers for that year. The material from the Communal Register gives a brief history of free loan associations and the credit union movement among Jews. The reading in both Joselit and the Communal Register is illuminating and carrying; the Communal Register tends to see both advantages and disadvantages to free loan societies which Joselit rightly points out were often much better than the loan sharking from which small borrowers perpetually were relegated.

Suggested Uses: Immigrant History, Progressivism (how would progressive goals be achieved through such institutions?).

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Biopoem on institutions
2) Poem for two voices (compare free loan societies with rotating credit associations; see material on rotating credit associations in the Assignments section of this project).
3) Teacher/student discussion based on the questions below
4) Group work comparing the free loan societies with the rotating credit associations. What were the functions of each organization? What were the goals of each type of association? What were the advantages of each type of association? What were the disadvantages of each type of society?

Questions: 1) Why were free loan societies organized? What is the origin of the concept of a free loan society?
2) Look at the "Various Trades of Borrowers" for 1913. What are the occupations of most of the borrowers? What kinds of work do the borrowers do--skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled? Who are the largest number of borrowers listed? Why do you suppose they were borrowing money? For what would they need to borrow money? By looking at this list, what conclusions would you make about the Jewish community in 1913? What were the goals of the borrowers? (Here you are making an educated guess).
3) Why did some organize credit unions rather than free loan societies?
4) How do you think such organizations might benefit the Jewish community? Were the organizations only for the benefit of the Jewish community?

Four hundred years after Columbus sailed westward, eleven immigrants from Vilna secured a footing in Manhattan's Lower East Side. Stirred by what they saw—how deeply poverty could seep into the roots of a community—the group, including one poet, met in their synagogue to act.

The founders invoked an ancient tenet concerning revered behavior, welcome acts that had helped their forbears to survive: *Gemilath Chassodim.* Broadly conceived as "acts of loving-kindness" toward the individual, the community, or even the wayfarer of any creed, the doer of such a deed would not expect reward. That rubric embraces the act of lending without interest, as set forth in Exodus.

The eleven neighbors amassed a total of $95 and opened for business under the name of the Hebrew Gemilath Chassodim Association of New York, later to be called the Hebrew Free Loan Society. The original name embodied a new commitment to enduring values, which are still in play.

Aware of the sensibilities of their neighbors, the founders fashioned a set of standards to preserve the personal dignity of the borrower: welcome with courtesy, interview in privacy, let the purpose of the loan remain unmentioned.

Loans started at 50¢ payable in 10 weekly installments of a nickel each. Supporters became members for an annual fee of $3, payable at the rate of 25¢ per month. For the borrowers, these donated pennies became passports to their future. Their loans were regarded as "obligations of honor." Loans repaid meant loans remade.

A $10 loan paid for a pushcart license while a $50 loan enabled one to be a boss and open a tiny shop in one of the tenement flats that lined the elevated railroad tracks, where men, women, and children did piece work on garments. Their slack season was the worst of all seasons, when income stopped for the job-holders and job-makers alike. Facing eviction, hunger, and

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illness, for them, the Hebrew Free Loan Society became their lifeline.

A renowned philanthropist saw the Society's considerate approach as "amongst the most important constructive work done in this community." His first gift of $100 in 1893, plus a series of impressively larger ones, seeded the Society's Perpetual Loan Fund.

The generally unheralded work of the Society, when discovered by *Fortune,* in 1938, prompted the magazine to call it "... one of the most remarkable philanthropic institutions in the United States."

How it was possible for this fledgling in philanthropy to have continued unbroken for one hundred years, dispensing over $108,000,000 in interest-free loans to over one million families challenges belief. *Lending Dignity* makes the reader become a believer.

Dr. Jenna Weissman Joselit has written more than a history. Her study portrays the faces and forces that have shaped a significant institution and its community through turbulent eras. Moving examples reveal how the Society responded to economic, social, and cultural change with innovative programs and flexible approaches, yet scrupulously preserving its vision of philanthropy: a marriage of aid and considerateness.

This study also connects the leading actors in the Society from then to now, pre-eminent among them Abraham Gribetz, the Society's executive director for forty-eight years. As a result of his courtesy, clarity, and candor, Mr. Gribetz proved that philanthropy could not only mellow banking practices but also create lasting friendships. In 1941, shortly after my appointment to the State Board of Mediation as a mediator, Mr. Gribetz, who had known me only as a borrower, invited me to his office for a chat. During the course of our conversation, we exchanged life's philosophies and recounted personal experiences. At one point, I revealed that I did not use a regular check-book. Forthwith, my

host telephoned the vice-president of the bank used by the Society to facilitate my opening a checking account. That conversation, the first of many, molded a friendship that lasted for decades.

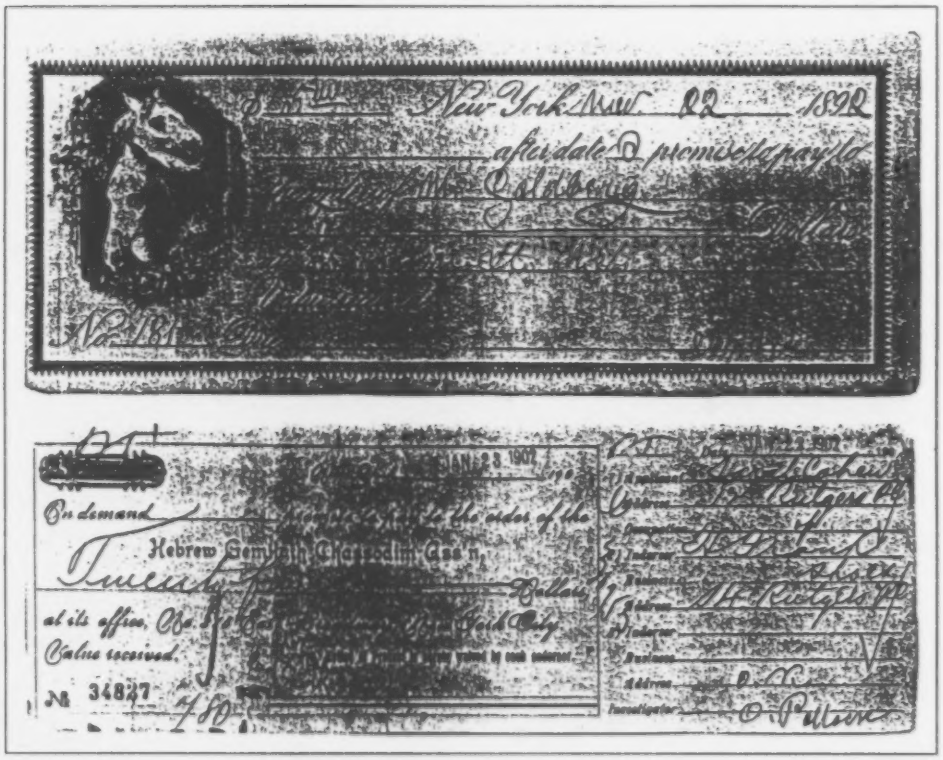
Over the past one hundred years, the Society's clientele ha changed. When jobless, borrowers of an earlier era faced evictio for failure to pay rent. Today, they may lose their homes for fail ure to pay mortgages. Today's borrowers include retirees and their new emergencies, with drastically reduced income and unimagined health costs. Additional current challenges to social resources include the influx of Russian refugees who again will be helped by the Society as their predecessors were helped one hundred years ago. In tremulous times, refugees are moving evidence of the will to survive. They will be welcomed by a tried agency.

This history of the Hebrew Free Loan Society touches on each of its distinguishing features: an idea to move the heart; a devoted, imaginative board; a knowledgeable administration; a humane and diligent staff.

If this image be true, may the oncoming years sustain it.

— Julius J. Manson
Professor Emeritus, Baruch College
City University of New York

The Hebrew Free Loan Society occupies "a unique place among our institutions," related the *American Hebrew*, a leading Anglo-Jewish newspaper, in 1900, pointing to its widespread popularity among New York's Jews. Several thousand dues-paying members and supporters, the majority residents of the Lower East Side, thronged the Society's annual meetings, "hang[ing] upon every word of the voluminous and verbose report of the



When it came to signing promissory notes, borrowers either used their English and Yiddish names or simply left a mark. The Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York

executive officer, which he in turn reads with a gusto and a sense of pride that comes from work well performed and appreciated by those for whom it is done."[1]

Nearly a century later, in 1992, that sense of pride continues to animate and to define the sensibility of the Hebrew Free Loan Society and its supporters as they mark the organization's centennial. An unusual blend of the charitable and the fiduciary, the Society has been in continuous existence since 1892, granting

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"timely aid" in the form of an interest-free loan to a broad swath of New Yorkers—businessmen, housewives, writers, musicians, journalists, public officials, lawyers—or what the Society has called "sturdy folk in need of a friendly helping hand."[2]

In the course of its distinguished, if unheralded, one hundred-year-old history, the Hebrew Free Loan Society has dispensed more than $107,998,227.00 to hundreds of thousands of borrowers and inaugurated a series of creative community-wide loan programs while maintaining throughout a consistently modest, self-effacing profile. In fact, the Society's deeply rooted avoidance of publicity and its eschewal of fanfare has prompted more than one American Jewish communal leader to comment that "the only fault I can find about your society is that it is not sufficiently known," a state of affairs that this essay hopes, in large measure, to correct.[3]

Betokening a radical departure from practices in both the philanthropic and banking communities, Hebrew Free Loan's policy of granting modest, interest-free loans, ranging over time from 50 cents to $5,000, became an enduring article of faith as well as a sustaining mode of operation. As one supporter related, "it is as much a feeling as an institution."[4] While some believed in the efficacy of material relief, preferring the dole to the Society's "gifts," and others extolled the chastening effects of an interest-bearing loan, Hebrew Free Loan always has insisted on the lasting economic, social and civic value of an *interest-free* loan or what Society officials like to call an "obligation of honor."[5] The charter of the Hebrew Free Loan Society put it this way: "To loan money to those in need, instead of giving alms, and thus assist respectable people whose character and self-respect will not permit them to receive alms but who will accept a loan which they can repay...." As this document suggests, notions of "self-respect" and "dignity," as well as an ongoing concern for the applicant's humanity, have generously peppered the Society's pronouncements over the past one hundred years, attesting to the collective hold such notions exert on its imagination.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Hebrew Free Loan Society, Inc. of New York, 1925. The Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York

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"The great object of our Institution," explained Julius Dukas, the Society's third and long-term president, in 1921, "differs essentially from other Institutions in nature, operation and utility. Our aim is deeper than charity, better than asylums or almshouses, of more comfort than hospitals. Our aim is not alone to reach the bodies of the needy, but the mind.... We provide the needy," he concluded, "with the means to provide for themselves."[6] In much the same spirit, and drawing on a similar comparison, Rev. Hirsch Masliansky, the "Yiddish Henry Ward Beecher" of early twentieth century American Jewry, colorfully extolled the society's virtues at a public meeting. After likening the United Hebrew Charities, the largest of New York's Jewish social agencies before World War I, to a hospital, from which, he insisted, "one never fully recovers from one's stay," the preacher compared the Hebrew Free Loan Society to an outpatient clinic (or what was then called a dispensary), from which most visitors emerged relatively unscathed. "But when the man is still standing and needs just a little help to keep him so...then there need be no maiming, no operation, he can preserve his self respect, his manhood. This dispensary," he concluded, referrring homiletically to the Hebrew Free Loan Society, "prevents sickness, [and] inquests and it preserves respect and prevents schnorrers."[7]

Rev. Hirsch Masliansky, the "Yiddish Henry Ward Beecher" of 20th century American Jewry, was an avid supporter of the Hebrew Free Loan Society. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research

In many instances, not least in its prevention of schnorrers, the Society represented "something of a novelty in New York communal life."[8] One of the earliest communal institutions founded by members of New York's "downtown" immigrant Jewish community at the turn of the century, the Hebrew Free Loan Society or the Hebrew Gemilath Chassodim Association, as it was first known, tangibly demonstrated the ability of Lower

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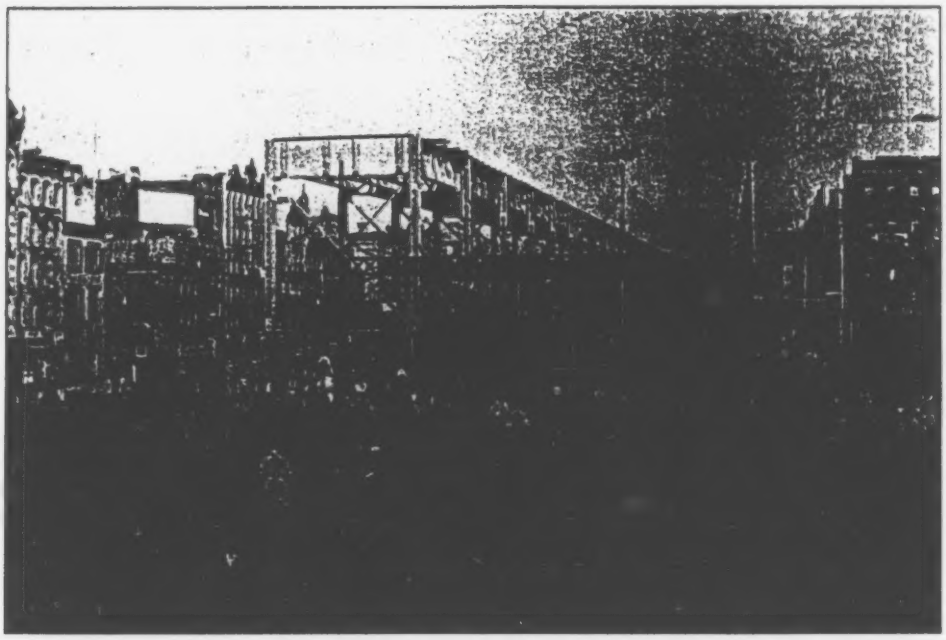
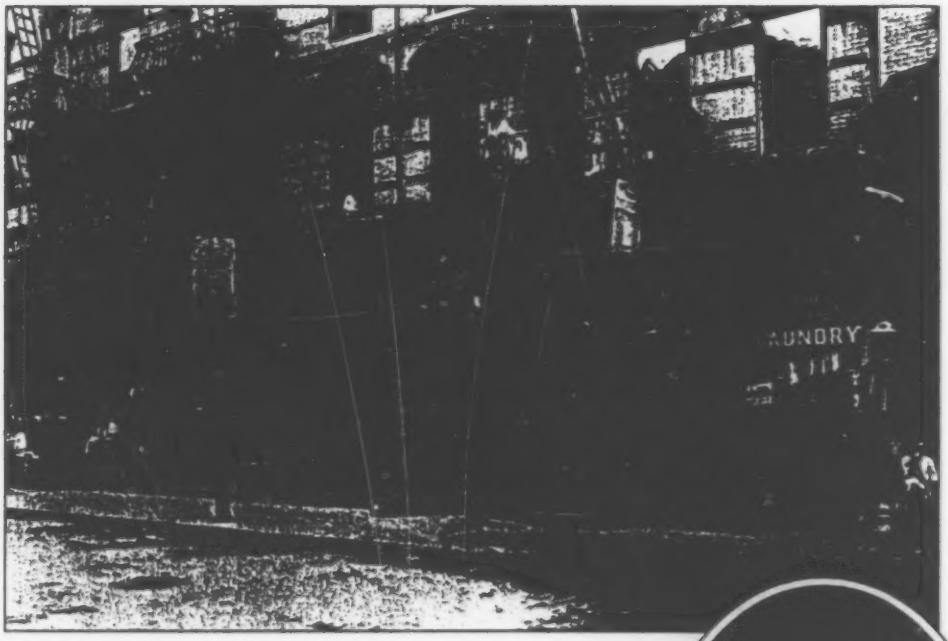


East Side residents to take care of their own while also symbolizing that community's much-vaunted sense of independence and self-sufficiency. "The Society is largely supported by members of the very class that uses it," explained its president. "It is, we can claim with justice, a monument of gratitude for benefits received, the helped becoming the helpers, the beneficiaries the benefactors."[9]

In its early years, in fact, both the "helped" and the "helpers" came fom the Lower East Side. Supporters, endorsers, investigators, collectors, board members, as well as borrowers, were neighborhood people. Philip H. Samilson, the organization's first president, lived on East Broadway as did board member Harry Fischel, while Israel Rokeach of the Finance Committee called Market Street home. Neighborhood residents and members such as Mrs. Rose Cohen of 164 Madison Street, J. Rubin of 94 Allen Street and M. Bernstein of 174½ Bowery eagerly monitored the Society's activities, volunteering their time as unpaid investigators and workers, enthusiastically attending yearly meetings and displaying their public support. "What I particularly admire in this society, in this work," related Adolph Lewisohn, a pillar of New

The Hebrew Free Loan Society grew out of the Jewish immigrant experience on the Lower East Side. General View of the Williamsburg Bridge, Delancey Street, 1906. Collections of the Municipal Archives of the City of New York



Attorney Street, in the heart of the Lower East Side, ca. 1908. Collections of the Municipal Archives of the City of New York

Adolph Lewisohn, a pillar of New York's German Jewish philanthropic community, repeatedly and publicly endorsed the Society's work. The Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York

York's uptown or German Jewish establishment, "is that it is carried on by the downtown element and is not dependent upon the uptown Jews. I don't think that we ought to draw a line between the downtown Jew and the uptown Jew," he added, doing just that, "but it is most gratifying to see that the East Siders practically support this institution and they are doing it well. It is a mistake when some people say that they are not doing their duty to their brethren. I know," he concluded, referring explicitly to the Hebrew Free Loan Society, "that *they* are doing it in a creditable manner."[10]

While the "brethren" of the Lower East Side might not have adopted Lewisohn's rhetoric, they certainly shared his assessment of the Society's functional and symbolic value and in short order valorized it as one of their own "pet institutions," or what one contemporary more aptly called "*unzer* [our] soci-

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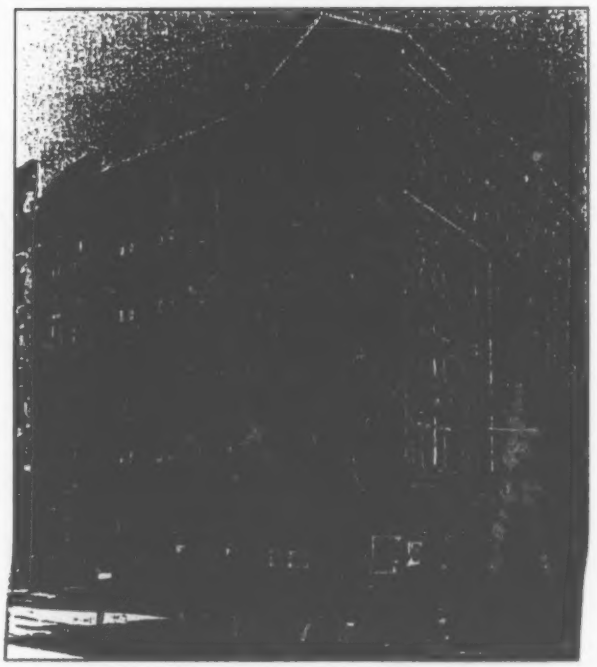
ety."[11] Membership, purchased at the relatively steep price of $3 a year but paid out in installments of 25 cents a month, grew rapidly, from a "handful" in 1892 to 750 within five years. Before the Society ceased functioning as a membership organization—the suspension of membership activities was a prerequisite for joining New York's Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in 1917—it boasted more than seven thousand members.



During the early years of the Society, annual meetings were held at the Educational Alliance. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research

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Members took their responsibilities so seriously in fact that attendance at annual membership meetings routinely exceeded a thousand persons. At one such gathering, in 1901, "the police had to be called to keep out members and their friends, because the hall was already full," reported one slightly bemused newspaper reporter, adding "would that the members of our uptown institutions exhibited a fraction of such personal interest in the societies *they support.*"[12] When, in 1907, the Society dedicated its own building at 108 Second Avenue, the event assumed a kind of communal importance. "It was like an East Side festival," reported one contemporary, "and the East Side seems to have turned out to do honor to and rejoice in its pet institution."[13] Another eyewitness related that "the Hebrew Free Loan Society has prospered because it has the respect and the confidence of the community. It is the entire community that works with us."[14]

Bound by and rooted in a strong sense of community, the Hebrew Free Loan Society over time transcended its original geographical boundaries, extending its assistance to both Jews and non-Jews throughout the greater metropolitan area. It came to represent a new type of exchange, at once social and economic,

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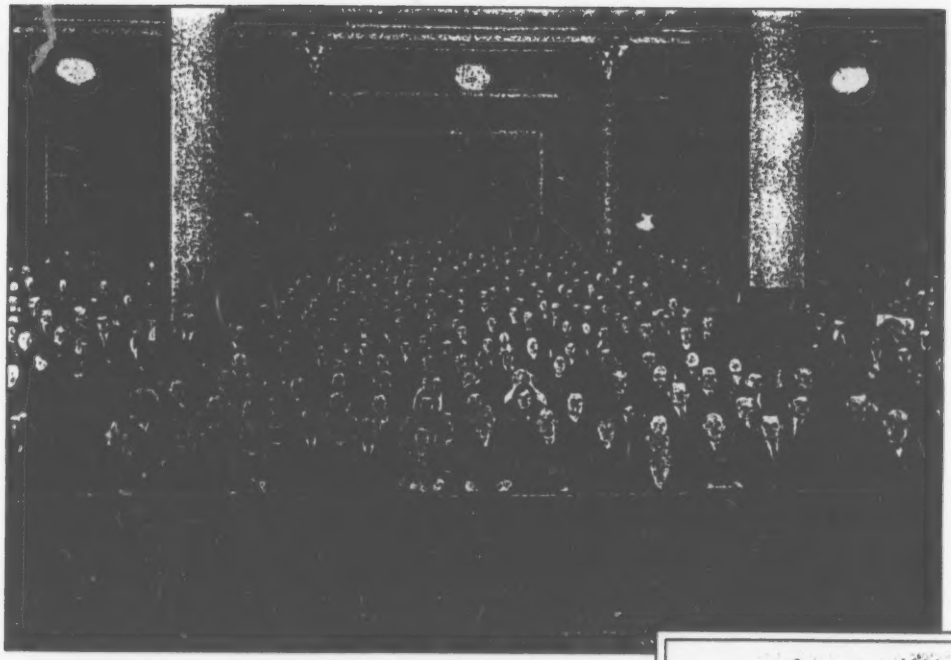
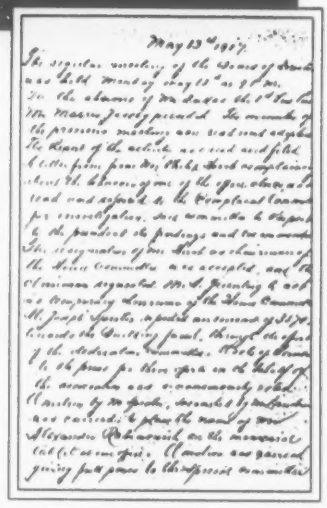


The Society's annual meetings tended to draw a large and enthusiastic audience. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research



May 13th 1907

The regular meeting of the Board of Directors was held Monday May 13th at 8 P.M.

In the absence of Mr Hecht the Chair was taken by Mr Max Jessurun who presided. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and adopted.

The Chair then announced that the Board had completed the purchase of the property adjoining the Society's building on Clinton Street, and that the Treasurer was authorized to pay the purchase money out of the Building Fund. The report of the Committee appointed to investigate the matter of the Trust Co. loan was then read and adopted. The Committee was discharged with the thanks of the Board for the faithful manner in which they had performed their duties.

The resignations of Mr. Hecht as Chairman of the Loan Committee were accepted, and Mr. Abraham Jessurun appointed Mr. S. Greenbaum & Son as Temporary Chairman of the Loan Committee. Mr. Joseph Spector, a member of the Loan Committee, then spoke in memory of the late Mr. Edwards the Building Fund. Thereupon the following preamble and resolutions of the Federation Committee, Board of Directors & the Press for their part in the Relief of the Galveston sufferers were unanimously adopted.

Motion by Mr Spector, seconded by Mr Greenbaum and carried, to place the name of Mr. Alexander Rabinowitz on the memorial tablet of the Society. Motion was carried giving full power to the present committee

An entry in the Society's 1907 Minute Book refers to the growing capital of the Building Fund. The Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York

that drew on the supports of community—on its conditions of intimacy and familiarity—to fuel monetary transactions. With money as its commodity and faith its collateral, the Society built on the personal ties that defined the Lower East Side, creating in the process a new form of social welfare organization and with it, a new type of relationship between donor and beneficiary.

Inventive in its approach to money, Hebrew Free Loan endowed its loans with the quality of "special money," a category of fungible exchange that had a kind of extra-economic, higher moral significance; by doing so, it removed the social stigma customarily attached to receiving a loan from a charitable institution.[15] Where loans distributed by the United Hebrew Charities, say, were viewed as a form of material relief that stigmatized the

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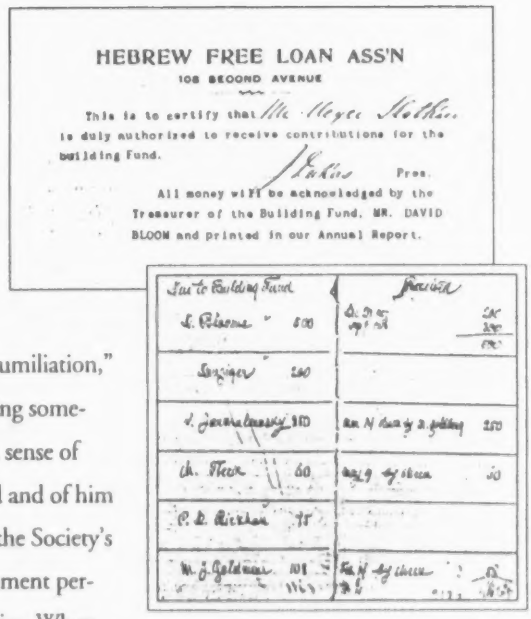
applicant, branding him or her as economically unstable or emotionally maladjusted, Hebrew Free Loan Society loans were socially neutral; they did not taint or diminish the borrower for they were neither handouts nor gifts. "You are performing the exalted duty of brotherhood, not by giving alms or stimulating pauperism, but by acts of justice which leave no sting of shame or of humiliation," wrote an admiring Louis Marshall in 1913, adding somewhat floridly that the Society's efforts "arouse a sense of manhood both on the part of him who is aided and of him who lends a helping hand."[16] The objective of the Society's loans was essentially a non-monetary one: to cement personal relationships and to solidify the community. When disbursed by the Society, money was not an end in itself but a kind of social contract, ensuring stability. "The Hebrew Free Loan Society, one newspaper astutely observed in 1927, provides "practical encouragement not to be calculated in mere terms of dollars and cents."[17]



HEBREW FREE LOAN ASS'N

108 SECOND AVENUE

This is to certify that Mr. Meyer Stothin is duly authorized to receive contributions for the building Fund.

Pres.

All money will be acknowledged by the Treasurer of the Building Fund, MR. DAVID BLOOM and printed in our Annual Report.

Due to Building Fund

L. Blume	500	
Seligson	250	
J. Jarmulowsky	250	
M. Marx	60	
P. L. Rieser	25	
M. J. Goldman	100	

After years of moving from one rented space to another, the Society in 1907 launched a successful fund-raising drive to acquire its own building at 108 Second Avenue. Sender Jarmulowsky, one of the Lower East Side's leading bankers, contributed $250 to the campaign. The Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York

Prior to World War I, the United Hebrew Charities, at Second Avenue and 21st Street, served as New York's preeminent Jewish philanthropic agency. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research

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Various Trades of Borrowers

Actors	5	Examiner	4
Agents	317	Expressmen	38
Apron Mfg.	10		
Artists	4	Feather Curlers	11
Auctioneers	10	Firemen	14
		Fish Dealers	30
Bakers	150	Florists	10
Barbers	156	Foremen	23
Bartenders	8	Fruit Dealers	56
Belt Makers	16	Furniture Dealers	72
Bicycle Makers	5	Furriers	406
Blacksmiths	6		
Blockers	3	Gasfitters	5
Bookbinders	59	Glaziers	50
Bookkeepers	124	Glove Makers	3
Book Store Keepers	44	Grocers	259
Bricklayers	5	Guards	10
Brush Makers	16		
Builders	5	Hair Dressers	10
Butchers	210	Hair Goods Mfg.	10
Butter & Egg Dealers	7	Harness Makers	36
Button Hole Makers	65	Hat Frame Makers	26
Button Makers	46	Hatters	60
Button Mfg.	2	Herring Dealers	19
		Housewives	2895
Candy Store Keepers	136		
Capmakers	169	Importers	6
Carpenters	146	Inspectors	6
Chauffeurs	7	Interpreters	8
Cigar Makers	361	Iron Workers	55
Cigar Mfg.	5		
Cleaners	94	Janitors	27
Clerks	553	Jewelers	239
Cloak Makers	5	Jobbers	36
Coal Men	32	Journalists	12
Collectors	17	Junk Dealers	11
Compositors	8		
Conductors	62	Keepers	9
Contractors	83	Knitters	9
Cork Makers	3		
Crockery Dealers	45	Laborers	599
Cutters	528	Lamp Makers	3
		Laundry Men	75
Decorators	6	Lawyers	6
Delicatessen Store Keepers	45	Leather Dealers	41
Dentists	33	Letter Carriers	56
Designers	15	Liquor Dealers	7
Diamond Setters	2	Lithographers	4
Dress Makers	47	Locksmiths	17
Drivers	136	Lunch Room Keepers	18
Druggists	53		
Dry Goods Dealers	211	Machinists	67
		Managers	15
Electricians	61	Milk Dealers	26
Embroiderers	28	Milliners	34
Engineers	11	Mineral Water Mfg.	80
Engravers	3	Miscellaneous	148

THE JEWISH COMMUNAL REGISTER

FREE LOAN SOCIETIES

By SAMUEL SEINFEL, *Manager*
Hebrew Free Loan Society

It is generally conceded that poverty and its attending miseries, while not entirely curable, are to a large extent preventible. The really deserving poor, if rendered prompt and judicious relief without the stigma of charity, are eventually restored to the ranks of self-supporting, self-respecting members of the community. To effect this result is the purpose of the Free Loan Societies. It is justly claimed that the work of these Societies has been of great value and far reaching importance in the cause of preventive and constructive relief rendered to the deserving poor.

Loans do not rob the poor man of his self-respect; he does not feel degraded in receiving this form of help. What the banks do for the rich and middle classes, a Free Loan Society does for the small tradesman and mechanic. It relieves borrowers of great inconvenience and privation, prevents their falling victims to ravaging loan-sharks, and this is done without elaborate formalities or unnecessary delays and with a courtesy that is reciprocated in prompt and scrupulous repayment.

The oldest existing Free Loan Society in New York City, and, as far as is known in the United States of America, was organized in 1892 and is only twenty-five years in existence. But there were from time immemorial Gemilath Chasodim societies in every Jewish community in Europe. Though similar in purpose, loaning

money without interest, these Gemilath Chasodim societies were in method and extent as unlike the Free Loan Societies in this country as the "Heckdesh" of a small Jewish European town is unlike the modern, well equipped hospital.

In the year 1917, the several Free Loan Societies of Greater New York made about thirty thousand loans amounting to approximately one million dollars. About 77% of the amount and number of loans was made by the largest Society with its three branches, located in Harlem, Bronx and Brownsville. This Society loans in denominations of from $5.00 to $300.00. Most of the others loan in amounts up to $50, a few up to $100, and only one up to $200. All loans are made on notes endorsed by responsible people, without charge of interest or expense of any kind, the borrowers repaying the loan in weekly instalments.

The borrower of $10, $15, or $25 invariably wants his loan to pay over-due rent, doctors', grocers' or butchers' bills. In these cases, the loans are least effective; the borrower remains just as poor after the loan as before. The loans of $100 and over, however, are usually applied for by small tradesmen, students and young professional men. The small business man through such a loan is enabled to retain his credit in the commercial world, and continue his struggle for independence. The same is true of the student and professional man.

Loans of larger denominations, therefore, accomplish the most constructive and durable good, and it is in this direction that the smaller Societies should aim to im-

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prove and extend their work. A still greater and further reaching achievement would be the merger of all the Free Loan Societies of New York into one great Society with branches in every Jewish section of the city. This would not only reduce the losses, small as they are, and the average cost per loan, but would eliminate the great and only evil now existing among them—duplication.

The achievements of the Free Loan Societies cannot fail to fill one with enthusiasm for the cause. From the immigrant who needs a footing in this new world to the troubled merchant who has to be tided over some difficulty in meeting obligations, all are relieved from embarrassment and humiliation, not in a spirit of pauperism, nor as objects of charity, but with courteous treatment and genuine desire to keep alive self-reliance, self-respect and independence. No better method has yet been evolved to solve so practically the great problem of pauperism.

LIST OF FREE LOAN SOCIETIES

HEBREW FREE LOAN SOCIETY, Inc. (Established 1892)

Central Office, 108 Second Ave., Tel. 8516 Orchard

Branches: 69 East 116th St., 1321 Boston Road, Bronx; 1878 Pitkin Ave., B'klyn.

Established more than twenty-five years ago, this society has been the practical embodiment of the idea of self-help in charitable relief work. Instead of giving alms to persons who have found the struggle for a means of livelihood too severe, the Society loans money in sums ranging from $5 to $300, to applicants, without distinction of nationality, religion or race, on notes endorsed by reputable business men, without charge of interest or expense of any kind, the borrower repaying the loan in weekly installments. Over 80% of the loans have been made without requiring that

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the endorsers have a commercial rating. The expenses of the office, and losses, are covered by members' dues and donations. The records of the Society show that almost 97% of the loans are repaid by the borrower, and less than 2% by the endorsers. Of these 2%, over one-half is ultimately returned to the endorsers through the society, or through the borrowers themselves.

During the fiscal year January 1st to December 31st, 1916, the Society made 24,330 loans, aggregating $711,940. The returns in weekly instalments amounted to $704,087.07. Receipts for 1916 from members' dues, donations and bequests, totaled $45,009.92; expenses including all branches, $24,500.49. During the fiscal year, January 1st to December 31st, 1917, this Society made 23,403 loans aggregating $765,400. The returns in weekly installments amounted to $745,105.50. Receipts from Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, $36,904.20. Expenses including all branches $23,615.52. Losses on loans, $2,910.60. Total capital of the Society amounts to $241,637.69. To meet the increased demands for free loans, two new branches have been opened during the last year, one in the Borough of the Bronx, at 1321 Boston Road, and one in the Borough of Brooklyn, at 1878 Pitkin Avenue.

The officers of the Society are: Pres., Julius J. Dukas, 335 Broadway; Treasurer, Hirsh Rabinowich, 108 Second Ave.; Secretary, Abraham Bakst, 101 Bowery; Manager, Samuel Seinfel, 108 Second Ave.

Julius J. Dukas was born in Sulzburg, Germany, in 1860. He received his education in the schools of Wiesbaden and in 1878, at the age of eighteen, he came to America. Here he embarked upon a business career and has become one of the successful Jewish merchants of this city.

As a communal worker, Mr. Dukas displays a versatility that makes him one of the most important men in the Jewish community. His sphere of activity is not limited to any particular phase of Jewish work, but embraces almost everything of communal importance. Philanthropy, religious affairs and Jewish education have been promoted through the devoted work of Mr. Dukas. His influence is felt particularly in Orthodox and Conservative Jewish circles, because his sympathies and mode of life have gained for him their respect and admiration.

Mr. Dukas is connected in various capacities with many important institutions of this city. He has been president of the Hebrew Free Loan Society (108 Second Avenue) since 1904; and is president of the Rabbi Jacob Joseph

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School (163 Henry Street), the largest Jewish parochial school of this city, and president of the Orach Chaim Congregation (1463 Lexington Avenue).

He is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Community, a trustee of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies and Chairman of the Federation Committee on Religious Education. He is very active in the relief work for war sufferers and is the vice-president of the Central Relief Committee. He takes an important part in the management of the Boys' Department of the Talmud Torah of the Orach Chaim Congregation, and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Lebanon Hospital and of the Jewish Maternity Hospital.

Bath Beach Free Loan Ass'n. Cropsey and 20th Aves., B'klyn. Pres., Louis Sturz, 3120 19th Ave., B'klyn. Sec'y, Wm. Rosin, 1519 82nd St., B'klyn.

Brooklyn Hebrew Free Loan Ass'n, 31 McKibben St., B'klyn. Pres., Nathan Prenesky, 809 Willoughby Ave., B'klyn. Sec'y, Isaac Kalina, 2224 Surf Ave., Coney Island. Incorporated, 1900.

Prenesky, Nathan. Pres. B'klyn Hebrew Free Loan Ass'n (31 McKibben St., B'klyn), since 1899. Term 1 year. Born 1852 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1886. Received general Jewish education. Retired merchant. Res.: 809 Willoughby Ave., B'klyn.

Hebrew Aid Society of East New York, 871 Pennsylvania Ave., B'klyn. Pres., Raphael Seril. Secretary, Benjamin Newman, 2127 Pitkin Ave., B'klyn. Established 1908. Budget about $1,200. Membership about 300.

Seril, Raphael, Pres. Hebrew Aid Society of E. N. Y. (371 Pennsylvania Ave., B'klyn), since 1910. Term 1 year. Born in Russia. Came to U. S. 1893. Received general Jewish and secular education. Res.: 98 Miller Ave., B'klyn.

Hebrew Free Lending Ass'n of the United Hebrew Community of New York, (Adath Israel), 203 E. B'way. Pres., A. Kruger, 301 E. B'way. Sec'y, Dr. S. Mossesson, 1744 Anthony Ave., Bronx. Incorporated, 1910.

Kruger, A., Pres. Hebrew Free Lending Ass'n of the United Hebrew Community of N. Y. (203 E. B'way), since 1911. Term 1 year. Born 1866 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1900. Attended a Russian High School and Yeshibah. Superintendent, Home of Daughters of Jacob. Res.: 301 E. B'way.

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Hebrew League Aid (Harlem Branch), 56 W. 114th St. Pres., H. Levine, 56 W. 114th St. Sec'y, A. Rabinowitz, 50 W. 114th St. Incorporated, 1915.

Levine, Harris, Pres. Hebrew League Aid Ass'n (56 W. 114th St.), since 1914. Term 1 year. Born 1846 in Russia. Came to U. S. 1887. Received general Jewish education. Cashier. Res.: 56 W. 114th St.

ADEQUATE INFORMATION IS LACKING ON THE FOLLOWING SOCIETIES:

Broder Loan Fund, 276 East Houston St.

Constantine Free Loan, 257 East Houston St.

Daughters of Hebrews, 1301 Boston Road.

Eastern District Loan and Relief, 115-117 Manhattan Ave., B'klyn.

Hebrew Free Loan Ass'n, Neptune Ave., B'klyn.

Sterling Commercial Ass'n. Loan and Relief. 115-117 Manhattan Ave., B'klyn.

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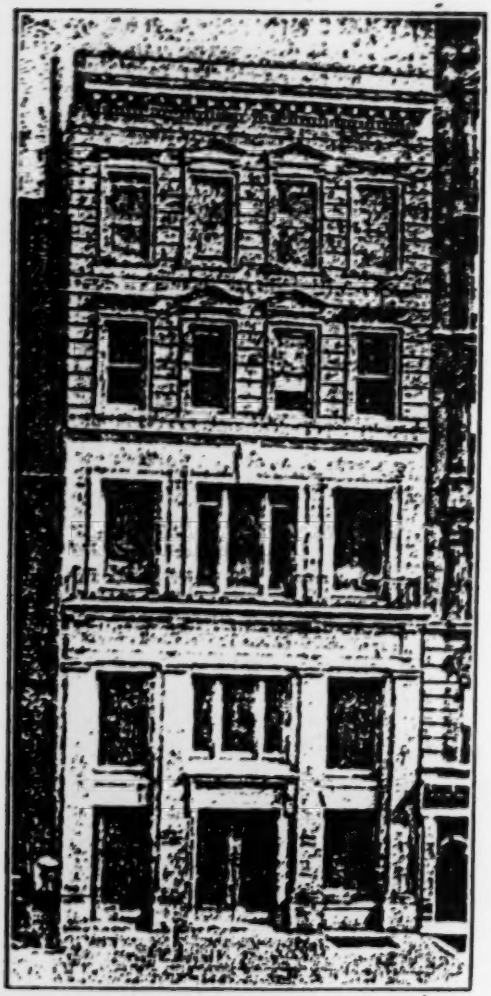

HEBREW FREE LOAN SOCIETY
108 Second Avenue

THE CREDIT UNION MOVEMENT AMONG THE JEWS OF NEW YORK CITY

By HYMAN KAPLAN
Formerly of the Jewish Bureau of Philanthropic Research

The "Credit Union" or "People's Bank" found its origin in the hardships resulting to the lower economic classes from the absence of adequate credit facilities. In the middle of the nineteenth century two Germans, Schultze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen by name, working independently, perfected this type of organization as a solution of the problem. The efforts of these pioneers, begun on a very modest scale, have met with phenomenal success, for today these "banks" are to be counted in the tens of thousands—and in adapted forms they have spread to all corners of the globe. It has been estimated that the total annual turnover of these associations is above $7,000,000,000 per year.

The Credit Union is based upon the principle that men, individually of small means may, by pooling their resources and offering their combined pledge as guarantee to the lender, secure the command of money which may then be disposed of among themselves in accordance with individual needs. Working capital is obtained through the sale of shares to members, through the acceptance of deposits, and if necessary by borrowing in the open market.

The business of these organizations is almost ideally safe because of the fact that losses incurred through de-

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fault, fall upon the group as a whole. Because of this feature, members are carefully selected, and loans are made only after inquiry has shown the request to be justified. The societies are democratically administered, one man, one vote; and ultimate authority rests with the membership at large. Three governing bodies are elected: A Board of Directors for management of general affairs, a Credit Committee which specializes upon applications for loans, and a Supervisory Committee, to supervise the work of the Board of Directors and Credit Committee.

The advantages of the Credit Union are manifold. This type of organization makes credit available to the man of small means, at moderate terms, and on the same business basis as characterizes the relations between the commercial bank and its clients. Moreover, by virtue of the democratic character of administration, the organization serves as an effective educative force, and the personal nature of the business and the smallness of the transactions are direct stimulants to thrift. The Credit Union too, provides a powerful instrument for exterminating the usurer through the medium of competition as against the ineffectual repressive method of legislation.

The Jews have been most active participants in the development of the credit union movement in this country. The first Credit Union in New York State was founded in 1911, by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, which organization has since been responsible for the creation of many others among Jewish farmers. Of the twenty-three Credit Unions now operat-

TABLE SHOWING THE MAIN POINTS IN THE TRANSACTIONS OF JEWISH CRED

NAME	Date of Organization	Number of Members	Par Value of Shares	Shares in Force, January 1 1917	Total Assets	Amount Paid in on Shares	Rate of Interest Charged on Loans	Loans to Members in 1916	Loans Repaid in 1916	O
Borough of Brooklyn Credit	1915	191	$10 00	695	$7,310 64	$6,630 64	12%	$10,110 00	$14,730 00	
Children's Credit Union	1916	91	10 00	90	900 00	835 00	12%	625 00	197 00	
Commercial Credit Union of Brooklyn	1915	610	25 00	1,693	17,306 33	16,680 33	12%	20,945 00	16,500 00	
Cooperative Credit Union	1915	220	5 00	227	1,347 16	2,080 77	12%	3,300 00	2,646 35	
Empire State Credit Union	1916	71	25 00	143	3,755 35	2,443 60	2%	4,250 00	1,197 00	
Fraternal Credit Union	1915	25	5 00	843	3,509 70	3,040 75	8%	7,102 00	3,775 00	
General Credit Union	1916	543	25 00	945	12,315 10	11,430 00	8%	23,300 00	17,881 00	
Kings County Credit Union	1915	117	5 00	1,100	6,333 55	5,575 00	12%	10,010 55	10,095 00	
Metropolitan Credit Union		320	10 00	1,251	14,054 70	12,734 05	1%	21,314 00	25,140 50	
Russian-Polish Progressive Credit Union	1916	91	5 00	945	3,787 47	3,607 00	1%	5,979 00	2,991 00	
United Credit Union	1915	96	5 00	814	2,894 65	2,389 20	8%	5,310 00	4,070 00	
West Side Credit Union	1916	104	5 00	1,703	7,536 25	7,488 23	10%	7,975 00	1,180 00	
Total		2,341		8,760	$90,999 00	$74,775 22		$130,404 55	$101,138 85	
Average		195	$10 83	730	$6,734 94	$6,231 23	7 75%	$11,333 33	$8,427 41	

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TABLE SHOWING THE MAIN POINTS IN THE TRANSACTIONS OF JEWISH CREDIT UNIONS IN NEW YORK CITY

NAME	Date of Organization	Number of Members	Par Value of Shares	Shares in Force, January 1 1917	Total Assets	Amount Paid in on Shares	Rate of Interest Charged on Loans	Loans to Members in 1916	Loans Repaid in 1916	Largest Outstanding Loan, January 1, 1917	Total Outstanding Loans, January 1, 1917	Cash on Hand, January 1, 1917	Expenses	Guarantee Fund
Borough of Brooklyn Credit Union	1915	191	$10 00	626	$7,219.64	$6,650.45	12%	$10,110 00	$11,726 22	$400 00	$4,107 66	$437 33	$82 26	$100 00
Children's Credit Union	1916	21	10 00	25	269 50	235 00	12%	235 00	207 00	100 00	215 00	51 50	21 00	21 75
Commercial Credit Union of Brooklyn	1915	610	25 00	1,063	17,206 23	16,609 11	12%	20,245 00	25,800 23	300 00	10,688 98	997 25	621 62	607 98
Cooperative Credit Union	1915	230	5 00	217	1,247 14	2,000 77	12%	2,250 00	2,446 25	210 00	1,253 05	241 39	133 64	.....
Empire State Credit Union	1916	71	25 00	143	3,756 28	2,462 00	9%	4,250 00	1,127 00	900 00	3,093 00	671 84	276 22	26 27
Fraternal Credit Union	1915	23	5 00	843	3,209 70	3,000 75	9%	7,103 00	5,775 80	893 00	2,890 00	230 00	75 25	21 04
Grocers' Credit Union	1916	843	25 00	966	12,215 16	11,436 00	8%	25,205 00	17,261 00	300 00	11,002 00	1,201 06	611 20	234 00
Kings County Credit Union	1915	117	5 00	1,160	6,353 55	5,575 00	12%	10,019 55	10,098 00	450 00	6,134 05	104 23	223 01	45 26
Metropolitan Credit Union	.....	208	10 00	1,221	14,064 29	12,734 65	1%	21,214 00	25,140 80	800 00	25 140 00	223 27	251 03	271 91
Russian-Polish Progressive Credit Union	1916	91	5 00	945	3,787 47	3,007 00	1%	5,979 00	2,991 00	136 00	2,982 00	790 47	107 03	.....
United Credit Union	1915	94	5 00	814	2,741 65	2,299 25	6%	5,210 00	4,076 00	250 00	2,530 25	105 40	127 22	86 18
West Side Credit Union	1916	104	5 00	1,912	7,536 22	7,436 22	10%	7,975 00	1,196 00	1,000 00	6,790 00	1,047 28	81 54	344 82
Totals	.....	2,341	.....	8,793	$90,699 68	$74,778 22	.....	$150,404 25	$101,126 08	.....	$83,386 69	$6,011 22	$2,888 54	$1,980 39
Averages	.....	195	$10 83	733	$6,724 94	$6,231 83	7.75%	$12,535 35	$8,427 41	$370 67	$7,113 92	$500 94	$240 71	$165 04

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ing in New York City, ten are composed almost entirely of Jewish membership. These ten societies represent a total of 1766 members, and have assets amounting to $65,018.45. During the year 1916 they have made loans aggregating $138,149.25.

The possibilities of the development of the movement among the Jews of this city are particularly promising. Jewry here is already well organized into hundreds of lodges, vereins, unions, etc.; all of which are excellent media for credit union organization, possessing as they do the requisite elements of intimacy among members, active public opinion, and general coöperative spirit.

The great need of the movement in New York City at present, is an independent agency under Jewish auspices to undertake an extensive publicity campaign and personal propaganda among the organizations favorable for the spread of credit unionism, to serve as a continuous guide and mentor in problems of administration, and to indicate and advance the adoption of standard methods. Such an agency should also concern itself with all external events which bear upon the Credit Union movement, representing and protecting the interests of the group.

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LIST OF JEWISH CREDIT UNIONS IN NEW YORK CITY

Borough of Brooklyn Credit Union, 115 Manhattan Ave., B'klyn. Organized 1915. Pres., Israel Rothstein, 120 Hopkins St., B'klyn. Vice-Pres., Abraham Halpern, 115 Essex St., B'klyn. Sec'y, Henry Gold, 2851 W. 24th St., C. I. Treas., Max Isicowitch, 35 Manhattan Ave., B'klyn.

Citizens' Credit Union, 115 Manhattan Ave., B'klyn. Organized 1916. Pres., Louis Cohn, 680 Flushing Ave., B'klyn. Vice-Pres., Harry Lapatkin, 36 Johnson Ave., B'klyn. Sec'y, Max Liebross, 14 Lewis Ave., B'klyn. Treas., Charles Forstadt, 680 Flushing Ave., B'klyn.

Commercial Credit Union of Brooklyn, 325 Ninth Street, B'klyn. Organized 1915. Pres., Benjamin Arrerman, B'klyn. Vice-Pres., Dr. Joseph Slavin, B'klyn. Sec'y, Meyer Tarshis, B'klyn. Treas., Max Peck, B'klyn.

Cooperative Credit Union, 124 Delancey St. Organized 1915. Pres., Joseph Gedalecia, 356 2nd Ave. Vice-Pres., Hyman I. Cohn, 2311 Croton Ave. Sec'y, Sol Goodman, 124 Delancey St. Treas., Hirsh Bloch, 1216 Boston Rd.

Empire State Credit Union, 132 Norfolk St. Organized 1916. Pres., Jonas Skinner, 119 Pitt St. Vice-Pres., Marcus Penerstein, 7 West 111th St. Sec'y, Isadore Kronstein, 132 Norfolk St. Treas., Isak Schitzberger, 132 Norfolk St.

Fraternal Credit Union, 84 Gerry St., B'klyn. Organized 1915. Pres., Israel Drexler, 49 Lorimer St. Vice-Pres., Sig. Horowitz, 95 Graham Ave. Sec'y, Edward Groff, 55 Lorimer St. Treas., N. Chaisen, 376 Wallabout St.

Grocers' Credit Union, 64 E. 106th St. Organized 1916. Pres., J. Brill. Vice-Pres., L. Burnstein, 904 Jennings St. Sec'y, S. B. Fliashnich, 2157 Mapes Ave. Treas., S. Friedman, 204 E. 100th St.

Kings County Credit Union, 60 Graham Ave., B'klyn. Organized 1915. Pres., Jacob Panamona, 204 Floyd St. Vice-Pres., Moses S. Levy, 19 Harriman Ave., Jamacia, L. I. Sec'y, Samuel Geller, 276 Throop Ave. Treas., Jacob Chaisen, 142 Teneyck St., B'klyn.

Metropolitan Credit Union, 52 Tompkins Ave., B'klyn. Pres., Max Kallichstein, 221 Pulaski St. Vice-Pres., Nathan Gluskin, 263 Lynch St. Sec'y, Henry Gold, 2851 W. 24th St., C. I. Treas., Abraham Halpern, 117 Essex St., B'klyn.

Russian-Polish Progressive Credit Union, 52 Tompkins Ave., B'klyn. Pres., Jacob

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Barnett, 550 Marcy Ave. Vice-Pres., Isidore Rothstein, 803 Myrtle Ave. Sec'y, Solomon Jacobs, 159 Lorimer St. Treas., Isaac Cohen, 272½ Stockton St., B'klyn.

The United Credit Union, 250 E. 67th St. Organized 1915. Pres., Leo Traurig, 341 E. 120th St. Vice-Pres., Hyman Rovensky, 2295 2nd Ave. Sec'y, Elias W. Klar, 250 E. 67th St. Treas., Julius Stein, 15 E. 107th St. Director, Max Zilan, 129 E. 104th St.

West Side Credit Union, 347 W. 35th St., New York City. Organized 1916. Pres., Barnet Cohen, 331 W. 38th St. Vice-Pres., Samuel Barnet Cohn, 331 W. 38th Sec'y, Philip Karmel, 303 W. 38th St. Treas., Adolph Shindler, 441 W. 35th St. Attorney, Herman Chaityn, 27 Cedar St.

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ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: Chan, Asian-Americans, 63-78
This is a brief, interpretive history of Asian-Americans. The chapter reproduced here is a description of the communal organizations that five groups of Asian immigrants to this country, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, and Asian Indians, developed to acclimate and sustain themselves in this country.

Suggested Uses: Immigration History (how are the actions of Asian immigrants similar to and different from the actions of other immigrant groups?), Asian-American History

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Question and answer based on questions below
2) Group work, dividing the work based on the particular Asian group, and determining similarities and differences among the diverse groups. Use questions 1-4 for each group separately, followed by question 5 for a whole group discussion.
3) Poem for two voices (comparing two Asian groups)

Questions: 1) In general, why did Asian immigrant groups form associations and societies? Did their purposes differ from other immigrant groups?
2) What kind of associations and societies were formed?
3) What purposes did these groups have?
4) Who belonged to these societies?
5) What were the differences and similarities among different Asian immigrant groups in the formation of these societies?
6) Do these associations reflect what are considered traditional 'American' values?

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: Constitution and General Laws of the Supreme Grand temple Grand United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture Samuel Unity . . . in the Mystic Rites and Brotherhood of Ethiopia, in American Friendly Society (New York: Harlem Printing Studio, 1927)
This document is located in the Schomburg Library, New York City. The organization was a society that apparently hoped to have a number of purposes which can be ascertained from the document. How successful this organization was is unknown. This was the only reference in the Schomburg Library and the only one that I could find.

Suggested Uses: 1920's (compare to Babbitt and the interest in joining societies that is evident in that novel), Jim Crow segregation (there were many organizations like this already existing. why did blacks not join those organizations?), Great Migration (why might a group like this be easier to organize in the North than the South?), African-American History (how does this group compare to the other mutual aid groups that blacks had organized? See the documents in the Assignments section of this project on the Afric-American Female Literary Society and New York African Society for Mutual Relief)

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Choral reading of selected passages (marked with brackets) and making into group poems
2) Biopoem based on an organization
3) Poem with two voices, compared to another organization of similar goals from another ethnic group, say a *landsmanshaftn* or the Congreso Mexicanista, both of which are documents in the Assignments section of this project.

Questions: 1) What were the purposes of this organization?
2) Why would they choose the name Toussaint L'Ouverture for their organization? Why is Ethiopia their model?
3) Many similar organizations in other ethnic groups have established sick insurance and death benefit societies. Why do these organizations concentrate on sick and death benefits? What is the importance of death in a society?
4) Who can join? How are funds raised? Why are officers given titles of grandeur?
5) After reading excerpts from the pamphlet, do you think groups like this are important?
6) What obstacles to success might such organizations face?
7) Why would African-Americans create their own group rather than joining an established group?

Pam. 28-4T

CONSTITUTION

AND

GENERAL LAWS

Of The

SUPREME GRAND TEMPLE

GRAND UNITED ORDER OF TOUSSAINT

L'OUVERTURE

SAMUEL UNITY

INCORPORATED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IN THE

MYSTIC RITES AND BROTHERHOOD OF

ETHIOPIA, IN AMERICA

FRIENDLY SOCIETY

ORGANIZED JANUARY 9th, 1921

By SAMUEL E. HINDS and CO-WORKERS

HARLEM PRINTING STUDIO. 79 WEST 131st STREET

NEW YORK CITY

1927

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TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE

PREFACE

It has been encouraged by the Supreme Maker of the Universe to inspire into mankind the sincereity and love of his Creator; to unite Friendship and Brotherly love towards one another, and to encourage Peace, and Harmony, and Charity to all his neighbors. The virtue of the Holy Trinity is to love ye one another, and to do unto all men as ye wish to be done by. The Grand United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Samuel Unity, Incorporated in the mystic rights and the brotherhood and sisterhood of Ethiopia, and now stand in virtue of its united protection through the Holy Trinity of freedom and the liberty of man, through the spirit of the Supreme Architect, the author and finisher of the universe, has declared it unto all men to watch as the shepherd watched his flock.

We have formed ourselves in a bond of fraternity; for the purpose of relieving our people and their agitated minds, and to smooth the wrinkles of our happy fraternity; we learn the lesson of Justice; wherefore we praise the name of our great Supreme God: in brotherly love and sympathy to the poor and needy; we learn to give and lend to all. Let us just act as an incentive means whereby to provide for the relief of our sick and the burying of our dead, thus becoming a support to the helpless, and comfort to our bereaved brothers and sisters. For ages Societies have been organized; we the sons and daughters of Ethiopia, has been receiving the form and instruction of all the fraternal societies of far and near, but at last, through the providence of that All Seeing, we have formed to create our own instructions and to give to our fellow brethren of the world for their objects, those virtues which elevate and adorn the human heart.

Amongst them stand Toussaintism, which has been in existence for centuries having received the support of the wisest and best men. Toussaintism teaches us to have faith in duty which is charity to all widows and orphans, the best of all is, Love, Unity and Protection. For God is our father, and we his children; in Him, is our trust.

THE EXECUTIVE BODY.

W. H. James .....President
F. G. Lewis .....Secretary
L. Bailey .....Treasurer
S. E. Hinds .....Sup. Grand Director

SUPREME GRAND TEMPLE

Order Rule

PART I

Constitution and General Laws

Section 1. This Society, hereinafter referred to as the Order, and shall be known as the Grand United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Samuel Unity, mystic rights and brotherhood of Ethiopia, Incorporated under the State laws of New York, in the United States of America.

Sec. 2. This Society shall be divided into four branches: First, A Juvenile Palace for children from two to seventeen years; second, Temple for male and Court for female; third, a pass officers Council; fourth, Sir Knights and Uniform Rank Department. This Order is composed of a Supreme Grand Temple, District Grand Temples and Grand Temples, Subordinate Temples, Executive and Legislative body of the Order.

Sec. 3. First, the Supreme Grand Temple is the Executive and Legislative body of the order; second, the District Grand Temple, is a combination of the Grand Temple under one district; third, a Grand Temple is the Legislative body of the Subordinate Temples within its jurisdiction. In the Constitution and By-Laws of the Order, we provide for the sick and distressed members. There is a funeral fund, a treasurer's fund, a management fund, and such fund or funds are raised and maintained according to law. Each Subordinate Temple and Court shall pay its own sick claims and pass on the amount of such claims to be paid—death claims and all other such claims that may come before them.

Sec. 4. The Supreme Grand Temple pays, in case of death, a sum of fifty dollars, which shall be paid to defray the expenses of burial, provided the member is not in arrears in dues. On paying the sum of ten per cent monthly, from each member, collected by the Worthy Scribe, and forwarded to the Supreme Grand Department, as there shall be an increase in the near future, this claim shall be for the protection of the Order and its members.

Aim and Objects.

First, the particular objects for which the Order is to be formed, are to promote the principles of friendship and brotherhood among its members, and to be practiced in the territory in which its operations are to be principally conducted—in the territories of the United States of America. Second, the town, village or city in which its prin-

CONSTITUTION AND GENERAL LAWS
Of The
GRAND UNITED ORDER OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE
SAMUEL UNITY
MYSTIC RITES AND BROTHERHOOD OF ETHIOPIA, IN AMERICA

ORGANIZED JANUARY 9th, 1921

By SAMUEL E. HINDS and CO-WORKERS

As a member of this Grand and Noble Order of Toussaint. Let us pray to the Great Jehovah, Master of the Universe, that He may give us wisdom, and knowledge, and understanding faith to undergo our daily journey through life. In the undertaking of bringing about this organization for race-pride, and service for men, women and children throughout the world; with Principle, Faith, Hope and Charity, with the knowledge of learning to know ourselves and to do the things that are right to humanity, and to realize that this Grand United Order is a power of four hundred million men and women marching forward, to the uplift of a future idea in love, and unity, feeling the care of brotherly love, in the knowledge of Ethiopia, under the progress of a divine wisdom, and love of the Saviour, which shall be our chief delight as our foundation is, love ye one another.

This book of laws is given with the paragraphs made into sections, which are drawn by the Executive Committee, and passed, to be the full government of the Grand United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Samuel Unity, throughout the world.

We, the officers and members in special session, meet in the name of the Supreme Grand Temple, free and accepted to the Grand United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Samuel Unity, M. R. B. H. of E. We here sign this Book of Laws, which shall be the power for the management and government of all temples and courts throughout the entire world. Its members are filled with the Divine Spirit of the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, where the principles of the brotherhood of man are made perfect and complete, its cardinal virtues are to aid the sick and injured, bury the dead and to carry the sunlight of this Order throughout the globe.

This order teaches how to become a free man, a citizen in every country, in which you live and reside. It also teaches the right of true freedom, and practical Christianity, it also gives to the poor, for sustainment which hold high

above all other things pertaining to humanity. It holds as high as hope, as the great throbbing stars above the deep blue sea of the dead. It teaches the love of God, the love of your country and the love of brotherhood.—Samuel E. Hinds, S. G. C., Founder and Organizer.

LAWS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GRAND UNITED ORDER OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE, SAMUEL UNITY, IN AMERICA.

LAW I.

Name and Object.

Section 1. The Name and Object of this Society shall be known as the Grand United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Samuel Unity, in America, Inc., in Mystic Rites and Brotherhood of Ethopia, to be known from coast to coast and held in high esteem and respect by all mankind.

Sec. 2. To all who knew Toussaint he was kind, loving and gentlemanly in manner. Candor and devotion to racial uplift were his outstanding characteristics. He was a trusted and respected employee of the great firm of Ovington Brothers, as a Man and a Brother brave and a genius to his fellow brethren. Throughout his career, as a commander, exerted his influence to preserve their lives. Upon entering military life his promotion was rapid, as he possessed all the requisites of a great commander and leader, having risen to a generalship, because of his many successes, France and the world at large acknowledged his rank and tendered to him a commission as commander-in-chief of the armies and Temple of San Domingo, a member of one of a certain order; a title of honor; piece in chess—to create a Knight Templar to be in union with the rules and regulations laid down by the Supreme Grand Temple. The object of the order shall be for the raising of funds for the relief of its members, when in sickness, lamed, or disabled, and for insuring a sum of money to assist in defraying the expenses of burials, to be paid to the widow, legal executors, administrators, or assigns of a member deceased, or to assist in defraying the expenses of the burial of a wife, husband or child of a member, who shall be subject always to the laws and following rules and regulation of the order, also to provide necessary funds for the carrying on of the business of the order according to the General Laws herein enacted.

Sec. 3. At each national meeting there shall be elected by the National Assembly of the Supreme Grand Temple a

day, their railroad fare, and sleeping car fare and no more while going to, attended upon, returning from the assembly of the Supreme Grand Temple.

Sec. 5. The full board shall meet only twice per year, but nothing therein shall prevent the Supreme Grand Temple from holding special meetings in keeping with the other provisions of the Supreme General Laws.

Sec. 6. Before any money shall be paid to any member of the Supreme for railroad and sleeping car expenses, the Supreme Grand Commander and Supreme Grand Scribe and two of the Supreme Grand Trustees shall obtain from the ticket agent company of the railroad having the most direct route to travel to and from the homes of the various members of the Supreme Grand Temple, the actual railroad fare and sleeping car fare to and from the homes of such members, and the number of days necessary to make the trip; and the Supreme Grand Temple shall allow such rail road fare and sleeping car fare and no more. The per diem shall only be allowed for such time as is actually consumed in making the journey back in attending to the business of the Supreme Grand Temple, and any member making a trip to the Supreme Grand Session other than the person directed, or stopping over en route to or from such session, they shall not be allowed for such days or such additional fare if there be any.

Sec. 7. The Supreme Grand Temple shall publish in the quarterly magazine Circle the railroad fare and sleeping car fare, and per diem in separate items to date.

LAW XLVII.—ARTICLE 9.

Our Grand and Noble United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Samuel Unity, Mystic Rites and Brotherhood of Ethiopia, Incorporated, the Order is perpetuated as a fraternal organization; that its government may be provided for, that the welfare of happiness and liberty of its members at heart to promote the honor and interest of the Order, and to establish a better understanding of character and brotherly love of Ethiopia, to enhance that nobleness of soul and happiness of mind be cultivated; in the principles of friendship, love, unity, and protection, and to be charitable to all mankind, and that brotherly love and fidelity be inculcated and that its members and their families be assisted by the secret hearts of our fraternality.

Sec. 2. The principles of the Grand United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture is to promote peace and happiness among its brethrens.

LAW XLVIII.—ARTICLE 10.

Section 1. Any person who desires to become a member of the Order, shall be enlisted with an application for his or her admittance to membership, with a certificate of health, from a practicing physician who shall be a member of this Order, and if there's one in the jurisdiction of the temple. He shall pay into the said temple not less than Five ($5.00) Dollars, one-half of which shall be paid upon presentation of application for admission, and the other half on the night of his or her initation, and in case any temple shall receive any person or persons as a candidate who shall become a member thereof for less than the sum of Five ($5.00) Dollars such temple or temples shall pay the sum of Five ($5.00) Dollars into the General Funds of the Supreme Grand Temple and the member so initiated shall not be entitled to the liberty or any of the advantages of the Order until this article be strictly complied with.

Sec. 2. Any application for membership received into a temple and on receiving three or more black balls shall be declared rejected.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Deputy Master of Works of the District Subordinate Temples to ascertain whether or not the applicant has been rejected by any other temple within six months preceding his or her application. In case any temple shall initiate any person who has been so rejected by a sister temple in the jurisdiction of the Order, said temple shall be fined and shall pay the Order the sum of Ten ($10.00) Dollars, and the member so initiated shall be declared an illegal member.

Sec. 4. Any temple that initiates a candidate after a legal objection has been made by another temple, shall, upon proof, forfeit its charter to the Supreme Grand Temple and Supreme Grand Commander on demand.

Sec. 5. Any member who may have been suspended from membership in his or her temple for non-payment of dues, and who shall make application for reinstatement within six months and shall accompany his or her application with all assessment and taxes up to the date of his or her application and a doctor's certificate, may be balloted for at a regular meeting upon a motion of any member present, but after six months shall have elapsed each application from the person suspended shall be referred to an investigation committee, in like manner as an original application; if the application is made within six months after suspension it will require a majority of the votes cast to elect; but after that time it will require but three black

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: Martin, African Fundamentalism, 4-6
This is a compilation of writings on politics, literary criticism, poetry, book reviews, race, black history, art, and Marcus Garvey that appeared in Garvey's *Negro World* newspaper. This newspaper, a publication of the largest Pan-African group ever organized, printed a wide selection of articles that emphasized the significance of black self-help, black pride, and black history for the African-American community and the numerous Universal Negro Improvement Association chapters outside the United States. The selection used is an article by Marcus Garvey about the goals blacks should have for themselves.

Suggested Uses: 1920's (what do the ideas of Garvey and their popularity within the black community say about the African-American community in the 1920's?), African-American History (compare the ideas of Garvey with those of other prominent African-American leaders, Washington, DuBois, King, Malcolm X, Martin Delaney, Frederick Douglass, Nat Turner).

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Role Play-using this and some other information, a teacher could have a student represent Garvey to the class. If a teacher wanted another voice in the same role play, the teacher could have DuBois or a Klansman, Wesley Hiram Evans, in role play as well
2) Silent reading using the choral technique of selecting three words, phrases, or sentences and then have groups in class put together their quotations to reconstitute the document for presentation to class

Questions: 1) What goals does Garvey want blacks to pursue?
2) What attitudes does Garvey demand that blacks have about themselves?
3) How does Garvey expect blacks to achieve?
4) Compare the ideas of Garvey to those of African-American leaders mentioned in Suggested Uses.

African Fundamentalism

Marcus Garvey (1924)

The time has come for the Negro to forget and cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races, and to start out immediately to create and emulate heroes of his own. We must canonize our own saints, create our own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honor black men and women who have made their distinct contributions to our racial history. Sojourner Truth is worthy of the place of sainthood alongside of Joan of Arc; Crispus Attucks and George William Gordon are entitled to the halo of martyrdom with no less glory than that of the martyrs of any other race. Toussaint L'Ouverture's brilliancy as a soldier and statesman outshone that of Cromwell, Napoleon and Washington; hence, he is entitled to the highest place as a hero among men. Africa has produced countless numbers of men and women, in war and in peace, whose lustre and bravery outshine that of any other people. Then why not see good and perfection in ourselves? We must inspire a literature and promulgate a doctrine of our own without any apologies to the powers that be. The right is ours and God's. Let contrary sentiment and cross opinions go to the winds. Opposition to race independence is the weapon of the enemy to defeat the hopes of an unfortunate people. We are entitled to our own opinions and not obligated to or bound by the opinions of others.

A Peep at the Past

If others laugh at you, return the laughter to them; if they mimic you, return the compliment with equal force. They have no more right to dishonor, disrespect and disregard your feeling and manhood than you have in dealing with them. Honor them when they honor you; disrespect and disregard them when they vilely treat you. Their arrogance is but skin deep and an assumption that has no foundation in morals or in law. They have sprung from the same family tree of obscurity as we have; their history is as rude in its primitiveness as ours; their ancestors ran wild and naked, lived in caves and in branches of trees, like monkeys, as ours; they made human sacrifices, ate the flesh of their own dead and the raw meat of the wild beast for centuries even as they accuse us of doing; their cannibalism was more prolonged than ours; when we were embracing the arts and sciences on the banks of the Nile

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their ancestors were still drinking human blood and eating out of the skulls of their conquered dead; when our civilization had reached the noon-day of progress they were still running naked and sleeping in holes and caves with rats, bats and other insects and animals. After we had already unfathomed the mystery of the stars and reduced the heavenly constellations to minute and regular calculus they were still backwoodsmen, living in ignorance and blatant darkness.

Why Be Discouraged?

The world today is indebted to us for the benefits of civilization. They stole our arts and sciences from Africa. Then why should we be ashamed of ourselves? Their *modern improvements* are but *duplicates* of a grander civilization that we reflected thousands of years ago, without the advantage of what is buried and still hidden, to be resurrected and reintroduced by the intelligence of our generation and our posterity. Why should we be discouraged because somebody laughs at us today? Who to tell what tomorrow will bring forth? Did they not laugh at Moses, Christ and Mohammed? Was there not a Carthage, Greece and Rome? We see and have changes every day, so pray, work, be steadfast and be not dismayed.

Nothing Must Kill the Empire Urge

As the Jew is held together by his *religion*, the white races by the assumption and the unwritten law of *superiority*, and the Mongolian by the precious tie of *blood*, so likewise the Negro must be united in one *grand racial hierarchy*. Our *union must know no clime, boundary* or *nationality*. Like the great Church of Rome, Negroes the world over *must practice one faith*, that of Confidence in themselves, with One God! One Aim! One Destiny! Let no religious scruples, no political machination divide us, but let us hold together under all climes and in every country, making among ourselves a Racial Empire upon which "the sun shall never set."

Allegiance to Self First

Let no voice but your own speak to you from the depths. Let no influence but your own rouse you in time of peace and time of war. Hear all, but attend only to that which concerns you. Your allegiance shall be to your God, then to your family, race and country. Remember always that the Jew in his political and economic urge is always first a Jew; the white man is first a white man under all circumstances, and you can do no less than being first and always a Negro, and then all else will take care of itself. Let no one inoculate you with evil doctrines to suit their own conveniences. There is no

humanity before that which starts with yourself. "Charity begins at home." First to thyself be true, and "thou canst not then be false to any man."

We Are Arbiters of Our Own Destiny

God and Nature first made us what we are, and then out of our own creative genius we make ourselves what we want to be. Follow always that great law. Let the sky and God be our limit, and eternity our measurement. There is no height to which we cannot climb by using the active intelligence of our own minds. Mind creates, and as much as we desire in Nature we can have through the creation of our own minds. Being at present the scientifically weaker race, you shall treat others only as they treat you; but in your homes and everywhere possible you must teach the higher development of science to your children; and be sure to develop a race of scientists par excellence, for in science and religion lies our only hope to withstand the evil designs and modern materialism. Never forget your God. Remember, we live, work and pray for the establishing of a great and binding *racial hierarchy*, the founding of a *racial empire* whose only natural, spiritual and political limits shall be God and "Africa, at home and abroad."

The Negro Renaissance

William H. Ferris (1922)

Why do we term the miraculous rise and growth of the U.N.I.A. the Negro Renaissance rather than the Negro Rebirth? The Rebirth, the being born again, means the entering into a new spiritual experience. But the Renaissance means the revival of that which formerly existed.

The Renaissance or Revival or Learning which Petrarch started in the fourteenth century A.D. was not the introduction of something new in human history, but it was the rediscovery of the Greek world, the flowering again of Greek civilization in Medieval Europe.

So, too, when the U.N.I.A. taught the Negro not to despise himself because he was black, but to look up to the stars and feel his kinship in the Divine, when it taught the Negro that he was created in the Devine image the same as other men, when it taught the world to take seriously the Black

Man's desire for justice and his ambitions to achieve big things in the scientific, literary, industrial, commercial and political world, it was not introducing anything new to human history. But it was restoring to black men that confidence in themselves and prestige in the world which they enjoyed twenty-five, thirty and thirty-five centuries ago by the waters of the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates and on the plains and plateaus of Ethiopia.

Dr. Booker T. Washington came along and said, "Behold, I bring you good news of great joy and glad tidings. I have persuaded millionaires to plant and endow industrial schools in the Sunny South. Follow me and I will land you in the political and educational jobs." The Negro vigorously applauded. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois came along. He, too, said, "Behold, I bring you good news of great joy and glad tidings. I have persuaded editors, scholars and philanthropists, of brains, wealth, family and prestige to help you obtain your citizenship rights and justice in the courts." The Negro vigorously applauded.

And then comes a short, broad-shouldered black youth from Jamaica with keen, sagacious eyes and heavy jaws. And he said, "Behold, I bring you good news of great joy and glad tidings. Though you are created of the dust of the earth, God has also breathed the breath of a spiritual life into your nostrils and you have become living souls. You are ashamed because you are black. But I tell you God Almighty estimates a man by the worth of his soul and not the color of his skin. When the angel troubles the pool, you are waiting for some friend to lift and carry you into the healing waters. But I say unto you, as Christ said unto the man sick of the palsy, 'Rise, take up thy bed and walk.' Nerve yourself, make a supreme effort to rise and get into the pool yourself and you will command the respect and challenge the admiration of a hostile world. You can operate factories, found cities and build up enterprises the same as other men." And then the Negro not only vigorously applauded but threw up his hat, jumped on his feet and broke into deafening cheers.

Marcus Garvey, despite his perfervid rhetoric, brought to black men something worth while, namely: the belief that they were somebody and counted for something in the world. Next to belief in God, the greatest force that can inspire a man is belief in himself.

A century ago Novalis was asked whether philosophy could bake any bread. He replied; "No; but it can give us God's freedom and immortality." The bread problem is the basic problem of human life. But the stirring of the soul of a race is not to be despised.

The aliatory element, the element of luck and chance, has played an important part in the affairs of men. On a Sunday in the latter part of November, 1919, we stood on a pile of logs and watched hundreds of people jump up and down, throw up hats and handkerchiefs and cheer while the *Yarmouth*, the first steamship of the Black Star Line, backed from the wharf at West 135th street and slowly glided down the North River. It was sturdily

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: Char, The Bamboo Path, 174-178, 220-223
This is the story of Tin Yuke Char and his writings on the life of the Chinese in Hawaii. Most of the segments are succinct. The two readings selected are on immigrant Chinese societies and Chinese newspapers in Hawaii.

Suggested Uses: Immigration History, Asian-American History

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Teacher/Student discussion
2) Group work comparing the activities of other ethnic groups and their development of societies and use of newspapers (see the Chan chapter on social organizations among immigrant Asians in the Assignments section of this project).

Questions: 1) For what reasons did the Chinese organize these societies and newspapers in Hawaii?
2) What were the goals of these immigrants in coming to Hawaii? How did they feel about being in America?
3) Do you think these societies and newspapers were successful in their purposes? why or why not?

IMMIGRANT CHINESE SOCIETIES IN HAWAII

Whenever a large number of Chinese were thrown together in an overseas community they at once formed associations for the control, protection, and general welfare of their members. They aimed to assist the newly-arrived, to protect each other in a strange land where there was no consular representative to whom they might appeal for advice or protection, to provide a respectable funeral for members, to settle disputes among members, and to keep alive old world traditions and customs. Here is engendered the "wah kiu" or Chinese sojourner idea of a temporary stay in a foreign country to earn enough money to retire to China and enjoy a higher social and economic status.

For historical background, there is appended to this paper a list of thirty-seven immigrant Chinese societies in Hawaii, omitting political societies and such miscellaneous ones as literary clubs, physical culture clubs, dramatic clubs, penman's clubs, etc.

In any overseas Chinese community, whether Singapore, Manila, Peru or Cuba, the chief Chinese community organization is the United Chinese Society, also known as the Chinese Benevolent Association. In San Francisco, it is known under the picturesque name of the Six Companies. It is an over-all organization, functioning to maintain order, protest violation of Chinese civil rights, aid the destitute, and raise funds for China and local relief. Another phase of activity may be in the politics of the home country, as in the support given Dr. Sun Yat-sen for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty. This representative, central organization is an adaptive organization, supplanting or supplementing existing organized groups.

A number of minor societies are formed along regional divisions according to village or district (hsien) whence the immigrant came. Nearly all maintain clubhouses with bachelor quarters for the aged or needy within their own membership. Also, the clubs have had rental units for income to support their social and welfare activities.

Then, there are a few societies based on dialectal variances, such as the See Yup and Hakka-speaking groups.

The Chinese family system has been widely described in sociological literature. In the Chinese family there is present a

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strong feeling of belonging to a social group with responsibility to all one's kin. The patriarchal dominance of the oldest male concedes his power over his adult children, and there is formal subordination of women and children. With such an ideological background, immigrants with the same common surnames naturally grouped themselves into family clan organizations. There are in Honolulu six such clan societies, and recently efforts have been made to organize a few more.

Among the trade and occupational clubs, the most important is the Honolulu Chinese Chamber of Commerce, formerly the Chinese Merchant's Association. It represents the Chinese community in its relation to the other community groups. The stated objectives of this chamber are "to inspire a sense of civic responsibility and an active interest in all community affairs, to promote Chinese commerce in Hawaii and assist in the development of China's commerce, to inculcate justice and equitable principles in trade, to arbitrate differences between its members, to exchange and disseminate commercial information, and to promote the welfare of the Chinese people in Hawaii." Leadership is from younger Chinese-speaking members, and meetings are conducted in English as well as in Chinese. In addition to the Chamber, there are guilds for carpenters, general workers, fish dealers, butchers, seamen, cooks and waiters, actors and musicians, dressmakers, and tailors. Many of the members retain their interest in these clubs although they may have graduated into other jobs or positions. An example is the seamen's guild which continues in existence although the trade is no longer extant with the passing of the inter-island steamers on which the seamen guild members had been cooks and stewards.

Fraternal societies were the secret, sworn-brotherhood societies with rituals and ceremonies. Organized in China for the overthrow of the Manchus and the return of the Ming Dynasty Chinese rulers, these secret societies spread out into overseas Chinese communities under various names of Hung Men, Three Dots or Triads, or Chinese Freemasons. The warlike tongs on the mainland were originally these secret societies grown wild. When their activities became illegal in the fields of opium and white-slavery, they could not take internal disputes to American courts of justice and had to settle with tong wars. Those in Hawaii remained peaceful, enjoying fraternal fellowship and revelling in the pageantry of secret rituals as do other masons.

There are certain characteristics common to all the societies:

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1. The emphasis has been on owning a building for headquarters and for income to carry expenses. There is an estimated worth of properties in the territory of $2,000,000 belonging to Chinese societies. Most of these are along Vineyard, Kukui, and Liliha Streets.

2. Purposes common to all were: to build fellowship, to provide recreational outlets, to help each other in a strange land, to assist the unemployed and sick, and to bury the dead with respect.

3. There were no societies for women only. Traditional Chinese thinking deemed women inferior.

4. The family is the social nucleus of Chinese clan societies. The central source of motivation in Chinese private and social life is the family.

5. Most of these society groups illustrate an attempt to withdraw from participation in interracial community clubs or activities, and to cling to self-imposed cultural and social isolation.

6. Were it not for the ownership of society buildings with income units, many of the societies would have died natural deaths.

Significantly, the very fact that certain of these societies have become inactive points toward the desired growth of a mature community. In a closely-knit community, the greater the barriers of discrimination, the more enduring these societies will be.

The younger generation in Hawaii's happier social climate, however, increasingly challenges the negative attitude of a segregated community. They have been rapidly acculturated to the American way of life. World War II has hastened the assimilation. No longer are the immigrants mere sojourners (*wah kiu*) but individuals rooted in Hawaii to stay. The public schools have encouraged the conception of each person as a full-fledged member of a free and democratic society. He is more disposed to speak for his individual rights. Increasing recognition throughout the community that the various immigrant groups have come of age and that the individual must be judged on his own merits rather than on the basis of his racial ancestry break down the need for social withdrawal. The immigrant societies should rightfully belong to a colorful past, having served their true needs.

IMMIGRANT CHINESE SOCIETIES IN HAWAII

I. Representative
United Chinese Society

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II. Regional
    A. Hsien or district:
        1. Kong Chau Society
        2. Chung Shan Benevolent Association, 1950
            a. By "doo" or precinct:
                1. Lung Doo Benevolent Society, 1885
                2. See Dai Doo Society, 1906
                3. Leong Doo Society, 1907
                4. Duck Doo Society, 1906
                5. Wong Leong Doo group under name of Chuck Sin Tong, 1906
                6. Kung Sheong Doo Society, 1930
                7. Gook Doo group under name of Oo Sack Kee Loo, 1897
            b. By villages:
                1. On Tong, Villagers Club, 1926
                2. Lung Tau Wan Villagers Club, 1926
                3. Wai Bok Say, 1927
                4. Siu Yun Villagers Club, 1921
                5. Yung Wo Tong

III. Dialectal:
    A. See Yup Society, 1897
    B. Yi Yee Tong, 1901
    C. Tsung Tsin Society, 1925

IV. Family Clan:
    A. Lau, Quon, Chong, Chu—under name of Lung Kong Kung Shaw, 1919
    B. Lum—under name of Lum Sai Ho Tong, 1889
    C. Wong—under name of Wong Kong Ha Tong, 1906
    D. Chun—under name of Chun Wing Chin Tong
    E. Mau—under name of Mau Association, 1931
    F. Ching—under name of On Kai Say, 1931

V. Trade or Occupational:
    A. Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1912
    B. United Chinese Labor Association, 1915
    C. Carpenters Guild, 1902
    D. Wing Lock Fish Dealers Guild, 1903
    E. Butchers Association, 1928
    F. Seamen's Guild, 1903
    G. Cooks and Waiters Guild, 1901

H. Actors and Musicians Guild, 1922
I. Dressmakers Guild, 1904
J. Tailors Guild, 1904

VI. Fraternal:
A. Chee Kung Tong, 1860
B. Ket On Society, 1869
C. Bo Yee Tong, 1860

CHINESE NEWSPAPERS IN HAWAII

Early immigrant groups settling in Hawaii kept informed on homeland news in periodicals and newspapers locally published in their native languages—English, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Filipino. During the long period of political struggles China underwent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Chinese newspapers of Hawaii also became involved to a considerable extent in the partisanship of these struggles.

Hawaiian Chinese News, 1883. The first Chinese-language newspaper in Hawaii was *Lung Kee Sun Bo*, its masthood proclaiming: "*The Hawaiian Chinese News*, established March 16, 1883." This venture began non-politically enough, as reflected in a copy dated April 13, 1889 (Bruce Cartwright Chinese Materials File M24, State Archives of Hawaii). In addition to local and foreign news, noteworthy are advertisements by American firms like Castle and Cook, Spreckels Bank, Bishop Bank, Lewers and Cooke, and Hollister Drugs. The paper also carries advertisements from Chinese stores such as Goo Kim in Honolulu, Wing Wo Chan in Kohala, Hawaii, and Kwong Yick Lung in Kahalui, Maui. Look Hop Wai Co. of Keanae, Maui, advertises that its rice plantation is for sale. Yee King Tong Cemetery Association in the Pauoa-Punchbowl section of Honolulu has a notice that those wishing to exhume or bury may apply at Sun Gum Lung Store. There is a list of one hundred donors to the Chinese Protective League. Ching On and Chang Kim advertise their legal and translation services, and so on. Later, however, the *Hawaiian Chinese News* became the organ of the revolutionary group headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and the development of the paper after that, as well as the appearance of two other major Chinese-language newspapers in Hawaii, the *New China News* and the *Liberty News*, can best be understood by looking at the antagonism between Dr. Sun and his political rival-in-exile, Kang Yu-wei.

Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) and his followers advocated the revolutionary overthrow of the Imperial Dynasty and the establishment of a republic. Kang Yu-wei (1858-1927) took a more conservative position, advocating numerous reforms, but still supporting the then-existing imperial form of government in China. These basic disagreements of policy between the two men reflected differences in their respective backgrounds and upbringing.

Sun came from a peasant family. His education in his home village of Tsui Hung near Macao, a Portuguese enclave, and later in Hawaii and Hong Kong, as well as his Christian beliefs, gave him a broader exposure to Western culture and ideas. And he received much more thorough training in Western medicine than in the Chinese classics. Kang, on the other hand, was a Cantonese from the Pearl River Delta who came from a family of Confucian scholars and government officials. He had himself passed the Imperial examinations and held high office. His reformist proposals to Peking had not, however, met with much success.

In 1898, Kang Yu-wei gained the approval of Emperor Kuang Hsu to initiate a wide-ranging reform program that sought to bring modern knowledge and ideas into the administration of the Empire. But Kang's reform movement lasted exactly one hundred days before he was denounced by Tzu Hsi, the Empress Dowager, and forced to flee to Japan.

Sun also suffered a dissident's exile, a good part of which was spent in Hawaii. He had first come in 1879, as a student at Iolani School and Oahu College and later returned at least five more times to escape arrest by the Imperial Government and enlist support for his revolutionary activities. He received enthusiastic welcomes from fellow villagers who had settled in Hawaii, among them his older brother, Sun Mi, who had a ranch at Ulupalakua, Maui. (The still-existent Tsui Hung Club remembers Sun Yat-sen as "the hometown boy who made good.") However, Sun also met opposition here from another group from China regarding means and ends for the salvation of that country, a group owing its allegiance to Kang, with its own newspaper.

New China News, 1900. In 1899, Kang sent his disciple and co-worker Liang Chi-chao (1873-1929) to enlist overseas support. Liang arrived in Honolulu from Yokohama in time to witness the Chinatown plague and fire on January 20, 1900. He first lived in the Arlington Hotel and later moved to a bungalow across from the present site of the Pacific Club. He started the *New China News (Sun Chung Kwock Bo)* in 1900. Soon he was involved in "pen-brush battles" with Sun on their programs for saving China. Liang's rousing journalistic style drew much support. People waited in front of the newspaper offices to read "hot" copies fresh off the press while those who could not buy the newspaper depended on the copy posted on the window facing the sidewalk. Crowds would gather. Debates were also held at the Chinese Theater on Hotel Street.

(Some interesting sidelights on the rivalry between Sun and Kang in Hawaii: Besides enrolling new members and soliciting financial support for his organization, Sun sought loyal bodyguards, especially after his kidnapping in London in 1896. Chang Chau, a local-born Chinese Christian, became his sworn brother and accompanied him throughout his travels as an "adviser." Unlike Sun, Liang and Kang needed to understand more of Western culture and looked to younger Chinese to gain such knowledge for China. Thus, they encouraged Lo Chong, son of the Honolulu merchant Lo Den-kui, to attend Oxford University. After his graduation, Lo Chong served in China's foreign service. Kang's daughter also received her education abroad and married Lo Chong.)

Today, the *New China Daily News* is published with the support of the Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party. Its present masthead reads: "First Chinese Newspaper in Hawaii," meaning the oldest surviving newspaper. The University of Hawaii Library has a complete microfilm series, beginning with Volume I, No. 1, September 5, 1900.

Liberty News, 1908. The *Liberty News (Gee Yau Bo)* was started in 1908 to replace the *Hawaiian Chinese News* in espousing Sun's cause. His son, Sun Fo (1891-1973), was sent to help manage the news publication while receiving his education at St. Louis College. Sun Fo later attended the University of California at Berkeley and Columbia University. His wife was a local Chinese from the Chun family.

The headquarters of *Liberty News* was in a two-story brick building on Hotel Street that also served as a hostel for visiting revolutionaries, among whom was the prominent party leader, Lin Sen from Fukien. It was he who planted the banyan tree, a symbol of many ancestral roots, at the Manoa Chinese Cemetery.

United Chinese Press, 1928. The *United Chinese Press (Chung Wah Kung Bo)* was started in 1925, as the organ of the Kuomintang Party under Chiang Kai-shek. The *Liberty News,* viewed as a left-wing newspaper, stopped publication soon afterwards. The *United Chinese Press* today carries on its masthead the assertion: "Outstanding Chinese Newspaper in Hawaii."

Miscellaneous Chinese Newspapers. Other Chinese-language newspapers were started between 1900 and 1930, but none survived. One such publication was the *Hon Mun Bo (Han People Press)* started in 1913 by the Hoong Moon fraternal society, a Chinese Freemason (Triad) society dedicated to sworn brotherhood and overthrowing the Manchus. It stopped publication in the nineteen-thirties.

Another non-survivor among Chinese-language newspapers in Hawaii, though much more recent than the *Hon Mun Bo*, is the *Honolulu Chinese Press (Tan-shan Chung-wen Pao)*, started by newcomers from Hong Kong. First issue: October 22, 1975; last, November 1, 1975.

English Weeklies. The *Hawaii Chinese News*, published in English, was started in 1927 with Ruddy F. Tongg as editor. After ten years it changed hands and name with William C. W. Lee and Chock Lun as co-editors of "The Voice of 27,000 Chinese." Its first issue came out on November 12, 1937. Fifteen years later, it published a supplement, "Chinese Centennial, 1852-1952," to commemorate the arrival of the first Chinese contract laborers. (The University of Hawaii Sinclair Library has a complete set of the *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, 1937-1957.) Again changing its name, to the *Hawaii Chinese Weekly*, new management took over in 1958, and continued publication until November 16, 1959.

This weekly in English was meant to serve the needs of the younger generation who claimed that ninety percent of the Chinese population read English. The paper ran articles on the Chinese community and local and national politics; supported American-born Chinese in their campaigns for political offices, their protests of racial discrimination, and their search for educational opportunities and economic advancement, and published Chinese cooking recipes, and translations of Chinese proverbs. Since the demise of the *Hawaii Chinese Weekly*, those Chinese who read only English have been without a newspaper dedicated specifically to their needs.

Two Surviving Newspapers. The two surviving Chinese newspapers—*New China Daily News* and the *United Chinese Press*—still reach the older generation familiar with the Chinese language. They follow the conventional style of printing funeral notices, business advertisements, club activities, and national and international news items which have translated terms for such contemporary words as "Carter," "detente," "guided missiles," and "Rhodesia." Each January there is a special issue to list the new officers and directors of the seventy-or-so Chinese societies. Due to the age of the printing equipment, the printing is often illegible, but the publications continue to serve the needs of those who want to keep up their knowledge of the Chinese language and remain aware of current events in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. Supplementing these Chinese publications in Hawaii, newspapers from Hong Kong, Peking, Taiwan, and San Francisco come by air and give a more complete coverage of news from China and the world.

ASSIGNMENT SHEET

Source: "Uptown" and "El Paso Del Norte, Chuppies," in Santoli, New Americans, 115-123, 289-292.
Santoli's book is an oral history of recent immigrants to the United States. It is a valuable source of information about the feelings and attitudes of recent immigrants to this country. The two selections here are excerpted from the stories of a Vietnamese refuge family in Chicago (115-123) and a Mexican-American family in El Paso (289-292). The purpose of these two selections is to indicate that self-help and mutual aid are still important in an era when the government is frequently considered a source of last resort for immigrants.

Suggested Uses: Modern U. S. History (responses to America's immigrant history

Pedagogical Suggestions: 1) Role Play (take the interviews and let the student create the character for a question and answer period in class; this also could be done with students who are immigrants or the children of immigrants if they are comfortable doing it).
2) Biopoem
3) Poem for two voices
4) Teacher/student discussion based on the questions below.

Questions: 1) What problems did the Nguyen family face when they arrived in this country?
2) How did cultural differences create tensions?
3) What kinds of groups did the Vietnamese immigrants organize in their community? What was the purpose of those groups?
4) What has been the consequence of these self-help activities on the part of the Vietnamese?
5) What changes have occurred in the lives of the Vietnamese refugees?
6) What has been the reaction of the Caballero to living in the United States?
7) What group is Cesar Caballero involved in? What are his motivations for being involved in community organizations?
8) What is evidence of the pride of the Caballero family?

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+ - The annotations for these works are found in the Classroom Materials and Assignments section of this project.

* - These works were either used minimally or the author thought that they might be useful for future investigations. Some are works for which the author had citations, but was unable to find.

Acuna, Rodolfo. Occupied America: A History of Chicanos, 3rd edition. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
This is a very good history of Chicanos. There are brief descriptions of *mutualistas* in various parts of the Southwest as well as good introductory accounts of other aspects of Mexican-American history.

Burrell, W. P. Twenty-Five Years History of the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers, 1881-1905. Richmond: Grand Fountain. United Order of True Reformers, 1909.
This is an account of the early years of the United Order of True Reformers, an African-American mutual aid society that apparently was successful for a number of years, starting in Virginia and later expanding. Its services include sick and death benefits as well as a savings bank.

Carson, Emmett. "Black Volunteers As Givers and Fundraisers." Paper prepared for the Center for the Study of Philanthropy, City University of New York, Conference on "Volunteers and Fundraisers," November 14, 1990.
This paper is a nice introduction to the current activities of African-Americans involved in philanthropic and charitable associations.

Chan, Sucheng. Asian Americans: An Interpretive History. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991.
This is brief, perceptive history of Asian Americans. The information on Asian community organizations is excellent as is the bibliography. Portions of this could be used with high school students. The bibliography for the chapter on community organizations is comprehensive and contains numerous citations that would be useful for future studies of community organizations.

Char, Tin-Yuke. The Bamboo Path: Life and Writings of a Chinese in Hawaii. Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese History Center, 1977. +

Char, Tin-Juke and Wai Jane. Chinese Historic Sites and Pioneer Families of the Island of Hawaii. Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese History Center, 1983
This is a brief introduction to the Chinese of Hawaii through a discussion of early families and early mutual aid societies. The histories of the associations are brief.

---------- Chinese Historic Sites and Pioneer Families of Rural Oahu. Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese History Center, 1988. *

Clawson, Mary Ann. Constituting Brotherhood: Class, Class, and Fraternalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
This book focuses on fraternal orders and their policies in regard to class and gender. There is some discussion of the insurance policies that many of these organizations developed.

Coles, Robert. The Call of Stories: Teaching and Moral Imagination. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989.
This book made me feel I was in one of the most creative professions.

Constitution and General Laws of the Supreme Grand Temple Grand United Order of Toussaint L'Ouverture Samuel Unity . . . in the Mystic Rites and Brotherhood of Ethiopia in American Friendly Society. New York: Harlem Printing Society, 1927. +

de Tocqueville, Alexis. Democracy in America. New York: The Modern Library, 1981.
This classic work on America is still perceptive and illuminating on the character of Americans and their institutions.

Feingold, Henry. The Jewish People in America: A Time For Searching: Entering the Mainstream, 1920-1945. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
This work, one of five volumes on the history of the Jewish people in the United Sates, describes the changing attitudes and beliefs of American Jewry after World War I through the Holocaust. One of its main points is the increasing influence of Zionism in Jewish communal life.

Floyd, Silas X. Floyd's Flowers: or, Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, Being One Hundred Short Stories Gleaned From the Storehouse of Human knowledge and Experience. Atlanta: Hertel, Jenkins & Co., 1905.
The stories in this reading book for African-American children reflect the values that many African-American parents wished to inculcate in their children. The stories are brief and always make a moral point.

Foner, Philip and Walker, George E. Proceedings of the Black State Conventions, 1840-1865, 2 volumes. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979, 1980.
These two volume shave a wealth of information on black attitudes in the antebellum years. Many of the lesson plans were taken from the various convention proceedings in this superb primary source.

Frazier, E. Franklin. Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States. New York: Collier Books, 1957. *

Freeman, Alan. "A Sense of Belonging." *Historic Preservation* (March/April 1994) Volume 46, 28-34, 118-119.
This is a brief overview of mutual aid societies in Tampa, Florida, among Cuban, Afro-Cuban, Italian, and German workers, mostly cigarmakers. The article does not have much detail about the activities of the associations, but there is an insightful commentary on the buildings they constructed to house their organizations and current efforts to preserve those edifices.

Gatewood, Willard B. Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
The chapters in this monograph on black clubs, churches, and education provided some background information on black self-help and mutual aid efforts. This is a very readable book about a little known aspect of black history.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986. *

Glenn, Susan. Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.
This monograph delineates the work habits and describes the labor organizations of Jewish women workers in the early part of the twentieth century. The sections on labor organization are very insightful.

Goren, Arthur. New York Jews and the Quest for Community: The Kehillah Experiment, 1908-1922. New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970.
This is the history of the effort to unify the New York Jewish community through creating a communal organization that would oversee all of the activities in the community. The Kehillah itself was an umbrella organization that included many communal agencies serving the Jewish community.

Grossman, James R. Land Of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989.
Grossman's work is one of the best histories of the Great Migration of blacks north. Readable, scholarly, and enlightening, the monograph contains numerous references to self-help and communal activities, especially the importance of the *Chicago Defender*, the nation's preeminent black newspaper, in encouraging the migration which might be considered a method of self-help.

Holt, Hamilton. The Life Stories of (Undistinguished) Americans As Told By Themselves. New York: Routledge, 1990.
This work and the Katzman work contain stories of everyday Americans. These are extremely useful for high school students because the stories are brief and readable. The stories are really autobiographies that are first-hand accounts of how these Americans, immigrants and native-born, were trying to be successful in early twentieth century America.

Howe, Irving. World Of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made. New York: Schocken Books, 1989.
This is the classic work on the migration of East European Jews to the United States. There are excellent discussions of various aspects of Jewish communal life including the *landsmanshaftn*.

Immigrant History Research Center, University of Minnesota. Records of Ethnic Fraternal Benefit Associations in the United States: Essays and Inventories. St. Paul: Immigration History Research Center, 1981.
Although this research aid focuses on European migrants to this country and their organization of mutual aid groups, the essays are a solid introduction to the importance of studying such organizations. This was one of the most useful books for my project.

The Jewish Communal Register. New York: The Kehillah, 1918. +

Joselit, Jenna Weissman Joselit. Lending Dignity: The First One Hundred Years of the Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York. New York: The Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York, 1992.
This is a history of one of the numerous free loan societies that Jewish immigrants established in the early years of the massive Jewish immigration to the United States. It is informative and well-documented.

Katzman, David and Tuttle, William, Jr. Plain Folk: The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983.
See annotation under Holt, Hamilton.

Kinkead, Gwen. Chinatown: A Portrait of a Closed Society. New York: Harper Perennial, 1992. *

Light, Ivan H. Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare Among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
This work is a comparison of the entrepreneurial habits of the Chinese, Japanese, and African-Americans. In addition the author discusses the

mutual aid organizations in the three communities. Some of the findings may be controversial, but there is plenty of solid information about mutual aid and entrepreneurship in these communities.

Limon, Jose E. "El Primer Congreso Mexicanista de 1911: A Precursor to Chicanismo." *Atzlan* (Spring and Fall 1974) Volume 5, no. 1 and no. 2, 85-117.
This is a solid analysis of an early Mexican organization established to deal with the problems that Mexican-Americans were facing with discrimination and poverty.

McBride, James D. "The Liga Protectora Latina: A Mexican-American Benevolent Society in Arizona." *Journal of the West* (October 1975) Volume XIV, no. 4, 82-90.
This brief article would be excellent for use in the classroom for an introduction to early Mexican-American mutual aid organizations. It depicts the factors behind the establishment of the association and its eventual demise. Its brevity makes it very usable in high school classrooms.

McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader, Revised Edition. New York: Van Nostrand, 1907.
The stories in this famous reader were useful in showing how the values of self-help and individualism were inculcated among American school children.

Marshall, F. Ray. Cooperatives and Rural Poverty in the South. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.

Martin, Tony, ed. African Fundamentalism: A Literary and Cultural Anthology of Garvey's Harlem Renaissance. Dover: The Majority Press, 1983.
This is a compilation of writings that appeared in the Garveyite newspaper, *Negro World*. The writings are by Marcus Garvey and other prominent and lesser known African-Americans. This is an excellent source for understanding the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Meier, August. Negro Thought In America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1966.
This is a classic work on intellectual and social attitudes among African-Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There is considerable information on self-help actions and community organizations in this work.

Mormino, Gary R. and Pozetta, George E. "'The Reader Lights the Candle.'" *Labor's Heritage* (Spring, 1993) Volume 5, no. 1, 4-27.

This account describes the practice, apparently common among cigarmakers, of reading to the workers. Although the article emphasizes this as a symbol of the workers' independence and willingness to confront employers, the practice also helped workers assimilate to the United States and was an example of self-help. There is a good bibliography on Tampa and Latin American immigrants.

O'Brien, John. "Factory, Church, and Community: Blacks in Antebellum Richmond." *The Journal of Southern History* (November 1978) XLIV, 509-536.
This article is an account of the social and religious organizations that slaves and free blacks created in antebellum Richmond. This covers a particular aspect of slavery and free blacks often omitted in the textbooks.

Pichardo, Nelson. "The Establishment and Development of Chicano Voluntary Associations in California, 1910-1930." *Aztlan* (Fall, 1988-1990) Volume 19, 93-155.
This article describes the organization of Mexican-American community organizations in California. It shows the importance of these groups to the Mexican-American community as well as the large number of such associations established. An appendix lists all of the organizations that the author was able to discover.

Raines, Howell. My Soul Is Rested. New York: Putnam, 1977. *

Rischin, Moses. The Promised City: New York Jews, 1870-1914. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
This is a succinct, readable history of Jewry in New York City during the years of massive migration. In the chapter, "Germans versus Russians," there is good information on Jewish philanthropy and self-help.

Rosenbaum, Robert J. Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest: "The Sacred Right of Self-Preservation". Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981. +

Ross, Jack C. and Wheeler, Raymond. Black Belonging: A Study of the Social Correlates of Work Relations Among Negroes. Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1971.
See footnote 31 for a description of this monograph on how work relates to African-Americans belonging to communal organizations.

Sanchez Korrol, Virginia E. From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
The chapter on organizational activities among Puerto Ricans in New York City is a good introduction to mutual aid and other community associations

mutual aid organizations in the three communities. Some of the findings may be controversial, but there is plenty of solid information about mutual aid and entrepreneurship in these communities.

Limon, Jose E. "El Primer Congreso Mexicanista de 1911: A Precursor to Chicanismo." *Atzlan* (Spring and Fall 1974) Volume 5, no. 1 and no. 2, 85-117.
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Meier, August. Negro Thought In America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1966.
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Mormino, Gary R. and Pozetta, George E. "The Reader Lights the Candle." *Labor's Heritage* (Spring, 1993) Volume 5, no. 1, 4-27.

Weisser, Michael R. A Brotherhood of Memory: Jewish Landsmanshaftn in the New World. New York: Basic Books, 1985.
An informal history of these Jewish mutual aid organizations, this work is very readable and a good introduction to this aspect of Jewish American life.

Wigginton, Eliot, ed. Refuse To Stand Silently By: An Oral History of Grass roots Activism in America, 1921-1964. New York: Doubleday, 1991. *

Williams, George Washington. History of the Negro Race in America. New York: Arno Press, 1968 [1883].
This is one of the first scholarly histories of African-Americans. It is massive and comprehensive.

Worthington, Mary Grace. Fifty Benevolent And Social Institutions in and near New York: A Brief Guide for Visitors. New York: McMurtrie, 1915. *